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A Documentary Edition of Alexander Craig's 'Pilgrime and Hermite,' 1631:

Print and Manuscript Culture across the Union of Crowns

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Philosophy

Scottish Literature

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## Abstract

This thesis presents the materials for a documentary edition of Alexander Craig's 'The Pilgrim and Hermite,' the facsimiles of the manuscript, a diplomatic transcription of the manuscript & a transcription of the printed witness. These texts are found in Edward Raban's 1631 print of Craig's *The Pilgrime and Heremite, in forme of a dialogue*, and NLS Adv. MS 35.4.14 or The Thoirs Family Commonplace Book. This thesis presents the first available transcription from the manuscript and facilitates the comparison of both texts.

The first objective of this project was to make the manuscript text available for further study. Prior to the text itself is an apparatus including a description of both the print and manuscript witnesses and a linguistic description of the manuscript, the data of which is available in the appendix. Secondly, the discussion of the text is evidenced in and commented upon by the culture surrounding the print and manuscript. I have provided the context of each witness and have begun work to document the transmission of the text, the findings of which will necessarily form a separate study.

The project is a proof of concept for future work on Craig and editorial studies. Where the sixteen hundreds or, as Priscilla Bawcutt describes it, 'the neglected seventeenth century', in Scotland has been charged with detracting from the mastery of the Makars, it is now proving to be a critical area in forming narratives of literature in Scotland. Bringing texts from this period into contemporary literary theory, historical materialist approaches are proving fruitful and encouraging discoveries of networks of literary interests and practice, evidencing experimental and versatile uses of text. These literary pluralities are paralleled in the textual pluralities of the manuscript and print culture of Scotland. Through the further study of manuscript miscellanies, commonplace books, and anthologies, we are starting to form a picture of how texts were used and transmitted, and how they functioned and were understood.

### Abbreviations

DNB    Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

DOST   Dictionary of Scottish Language

NLS    National Library of Scotland

OSc    Older Scots

PDE    Present Day English

# I

## 1.1      Introduction

This thesis presents the material for a documentary edition of Alexander Craig's 'The Pilgrim and Hermite' (written before 1631). Documenting the material evidence of the text increases access to the textual information for interpreting the text; editing text in such a way argues against the definitive aims of the critical edition. This thesis uses the 'The Pilgrime and Hermite' as an example of how documentary editing increases access to the information used to understand the poem in its contexts and transmission.

The following sections present a diplomatic transcription of 'The Pilgrime and Hermite,' attributed to Alexander Craig (1567 -1627) as found in the commonplace book of an early eighteenth-century Scottish family living in Muirensk, Aberdeenshire. Until Michael Spiller<sup>1</sup> unearthed the poem (dated 1631) from within the 630 folios of the manuscript in 2008, the sole witness of the poem was an Aberdeen 1631 print, lacking quire b. Described as a "curious long alliterative poem,"<sup>2</sup> the two witnesses each present a different text, both of which raise questions about the other. Presented in this dissertation with facsimile images of the manuscript and a

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<sup>1</sup> Michael Spiller, 'Found in the Forest: the missing pages of Alexander Craig's *The Pilgrime and Heremite*' in *Fresche Fontanis: Studies in the Culture of Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*, eds. Hadely Williams and McClure, (Cambridge Scholarls Publishing: Cambridge, 2013). pp. 377 - 394. (p. 377).

<sup>2</sup> Michael R. G. Spiller, 'Craig , Alexander, of Rosecraig (1567?-1627)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6569>, accessed 18 Oct 2013]

reproduction of the print, the transcriptions complete the materials for a documentary edition of the poem which gives an interpretation of the manuscript and the text in its contexts.

## 1.2      Rationale for a New Edition

The rationale of the editing process hinges on the motivations for producing a new edition. The purpose of this edition is threefold: to provide the text lost from a quire of the extant witness in print, to present the different treatments of the text between both print and manuscript witnesses, and to comment upon the inclusion of this text in the commonplace miscellany. The particular witnesses of Craig's poem demonstrate the function of documentary editing to provide parallel reading; having two comparable witnesses different in form, function, and date allows a diachronic study of the textual evidence for the transmission of the poem. This documentary parallel edition provides different readings and attempts to document the different witnesses of the poem to present and understand the transmission of the text.

In the prefatory dedication to the poem's patron, William Forbes of Tolquhon, Robert Skene aptly describes the poem as a "fatherles Orphane:" with the production of neither witness being overseen by Craig himself, the text was never realised by the man who authored it. In fact, each of the two witnesses to the text, to continue Skene's metaphor, was parented by



different compilers<sup>3</sup> who assembled their work for quite different purposes. Craig's only poem to be published posthumously, *The Pilgrime and Heremite, in forme of a dialogue* was reprinted from the sole surviving 1631 print and included in *Poetical Works*, edited by David Laing for the Hunterian Club in 1873.<sup>4</sup> Robert Skene prepared the manuscript for print, who "*having collected the dispersed, and long neglected Papers of this subsequent. .. Poesie, the Posthumes of the Departed... [took the] boldnes, after the Author's expiring, to publish, and present...[the printed text].*"<sup>5</sup> The discovery of a witness in The Thoires Family Commonplace Book which is not only complete, but offers a distinctly different reading of the text than previously printed, demands an edition of the text which takes both versions and their differences into account.

In this thesis, I provide the first transcription of the poem from ff.108r-113v NLS Adv. MS.35.4.14, together with textual apparatus, including a critical contextualisation and editorial policy, and an appendix containing the list of contents of the hitherto undescribed manuscript and facsimiles of the poem itself. The 42 stanzas missing from the print can almost be slotted into the printed text, but it becomes clear from the comparison of the transcriptions that they were two quite different texts and it could be argued that, without the discovery of the lost quire, the printed text remains incomplete.

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<sup>3</sup> From St Bonaventure's vocabulary in his *modus faciendi librum*: "Compiler: another writes the work of others with additions which are not his own, and he is called a 'compiler'".

<sup>4</sup> The 1631 copy from which Laing worked is now held in the Huntington Library, California.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Skene, 'Preface' to *The Pilgrime and Heremite, in forme of a dialogue*, (Aberdeen: Raban, 1631) pp.3 -4. (p. 3)

The current edition is split into four parts. First there is the editorial and textual apparatus, followed by the transcription of the manuscript, the transcription of the print, and, finally, the facsimiles of the manuscript. The *fisher's signature* and the description of the manuscript content, and further description of booklet containing the poem are provided in the appendix. Where the possibilities for a new edition seem boundless, the following discussion pays most attention to interpreting the newly available evidence from the manuscript text.

### 1.3 NLS Adv. MS 35.4.14 or 'The Thoirs Family Commonplace Book'

The *The Pilgrime and Hermite* is witnessed in ff.108-113r of National Library of Scotland, Advocates Collection, MS.35.4.14 or The Thoirs Family Commonplace Book. Originally housed in the Advocates Library, MS.35.4.14 was donated, along with 750,000 non-law books, pamphlets, manuscripts, maps and sheet music, to establish the National Library of Scotland in 1925. The shelf mark of the Advocates Library remains on f.1r: JacV.2.18, indicating that the manuscript became part of the collection before the 1770s. Shelf marks composed of the names of early Scots kings were shelved together in what was known as the Regal Room, before being redistributed into the NLS shelf mark system. A note in the catalogue records the range of texts across the whole manuscript:

A composite volume consisting of several commonplace books of William Thoirs of Muireisk, b.1666, covering the years 1705-24, but also containing earlier material.

They were bound together but not in chronological order. Some are made up from old legal style books (ff.161, 197, 248, 331, 479), one, (ca.1697), belonging to a James Strachan (f.199). The contents of the volumes are predominantly Episcopalian and Jacobite in sympathies, covering a range of theology, drama, poetry, polemic and ephemera. There is a copy of Dr Archibald Pitcairne's Anti-Presbyterian play *The Assembly* (f.162) and also several pages of elaborate cipher drawings (f.186). The contents are partially indexed.

The Thoirs Family Commonplace Book is a vast collection of texts and data which has hitherto not been catalogued or researched. The manuscript was originally comprised of at least three separate codices, evidenced by the inclusion of two original casings and corresponding measurements. The texts which are included range from legal to literary, and were not copied in chronological or indeed any discernable order. The NLS catalogue notes that the book was in use from 1705-24, and contains earlier material. Dates are spread throughout the commonplace book, providing texts dated 1609 on the same page as those dated 1724. The 630 folios were separated into 22 booklets by the staff at NLS after being moved from the Advocates Library and numbered in pencil at the top right-hand corner. There is no original pagination and the booklet order does not

attempt to reconstruct the original codices. Appendix A shows a table of data pertaining to the measurements, material and general content of each booklet.

Booklet ff.101-148 contains 'The Pilgrime and Hermite'. The analysis uses this booklet as a basis and compares it to the only other corresponding booklet is ff.3-50. Both booklets measure the same dimensions and are seemingly made from the same paper. Observations have been made by comparing the treatment and ware - other useful distinguishing features, such as chain lines or watermarks, are not present. Piecing together the original contents order of the commonplace book is another project, however, if we, at present, concede that the booklets were at one stage joined, the argument for a relationship between these two booklets is strengthened by a comment on each referring to content of 'the o[the]r' book, f.124r & f.5v, which continue or add to the texts on these folios. Thus, the present study focuses specifically on the content of each of these booklets, presumed to be written roughly in the same period of time, listed in Appendix B. Due to the wide range of material, this study cannot begin to speculate on the motives for including 'The Pilgrime and Hermite', however, the content of these two booklets provide a significant sample of the literary interests of the Thoires scribe, e.g. a summary of the anonymous Scots play *Philotus* (f.127r), excerpts from the *Gesta Romanorum* (f.101v-104r), and odes by Anacreon with translations by, among others, Peter Wedderburne.

The manuscript is predominantly made of paper which varies in quality, but generally there is very little damage to the page which only

occurs around the borders. Where texts are illegible it is due to smudges or faded ink, rather than paper damage. Folios 53 and 100 consist of two layers of rough paper sewn together which encase ff. 54 - 99. Both f.199 and f.534 consist of wood wrapped in varnished vellum. These two folios provide the front and back casing of a codex, the binding of which has disintegrated, so it is not possible to identify the original foliation.

Examining the palaeography of the manuscript holistically, the hand is the same throughout and can be confidently attributed to William Thoirs as he signs his name on some folios, practices his signature on others and provides his seal on f.186. As quoted by Simpson:

Sir Hilary Jenkinson [...] noted in English practice of the later middle ages a distinction between what he called 'set' and 'free' hands, that is, 'between writing, on the one hand, as it ought to be and as it was taught, the writing of ceremony, ... and, on the other hand, writing as it was practised by a large and growing class who made their living by it and prized most highly, of all the gifts of penmanship, rapidity.'<sup>6</sup>

William Thoirs certainly falls into the latter category. His hand is a mix of free crabbed secretary hand and italic, using fine italic for proper names, majuscules or emphasis, which varies in width and aspect according to space on the page.. Invariably cursive, his hand condenses lobes and angles

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<sup>6</sup> Grant Simpson, 'Historical Background' in *Scottish Handwriting 1150- 1650*, (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 5th ed, 2009) pp. 3 - 26 (p. 5).

slightly to the left in some places, while straightens and widens lobes in others, never clearly differentiating between shafts, minims and ascenders. Most often the initial looped 's' or 'h' are in italic form. Punctuation is used sparsely and sporadically throughout the commonplace book, favouring the use of the colon (:) and double-virgule (//) to denote line divisions. Flourishes, otiose strokes and decorative doodles are frequent throughout the commonplace book; William's signature and initials are regularly practiced and decorated in the margins. The ink used does not vary much throughout the commonplace book, but falls into either black or brown, and, in instances of corrections, the black is the base ink with the brown superimposed. Where there are corrections or insertions on the text of 'The Pilgrime and Hermite,' they are done in a neater secretary hand and include corrections to letter forms, words, and sometimes circling words or marking entire lines with an X.

As discussed in section 2.9, the commonplace book evidences an active reader who engaged regularly with the manuscript. Though it cannot be readily ascertained by the current project whether Thoirs used the commonplace book as a prompt for performance, or as a record of social reading; however, one indicator could be the different direction of the verses, especially on the first four folios. Often manuscripts which were used for song would have the verses written in different directions so the singers could stand around the manuscript and see their parts. The range of uses which he puts the codex to demonstrates a mind for whom literariness was a functional as well as entertaining and expressive mode.

1.4      *The Pilgrime and Heremite, in forme of a dialogue*, Edward Raban:  
Aberdeen, 1631

Alexander Craig's 'Pilgrime and Heremite' was the only poem of his to be published posthumously and as a separate. The original print is titled 'The Pilgrim and Heremite, In forme of a Dialogue.', first printed in 1631 by the university printer Edward Raban (STC 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 5957, 36pp) and is currently held in the Huntington Library, California. The book was bought by Henry E. Huntington in the Britwell sale of 1923 from Wakefield Christie-Miller who had inherited it from his father, Samuel Christie-Miller (1810 - 1889), who had, in turn, inherited the Craigentenny and Britwell estates and their content from his cousin William Henry Miller (1789 - 1848). According to the Huntington catalogue, the Britwell sale also furnished the library with Craig's 'Poetical Recreations' (Finlason: London, 1609), 'Poetical Recreations' (Raban: Aberdeen, 1623) and his 'Poetical Essayes' (White: London, 1604). Miller was a member of the Roxburghe, Bannatyne, and Maitland clubs and his entry in DNB notes that "acting through the bookseller Thomas Thorpe (1791 - 1851), he consistently came away with the great literary rarities of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries... assiduously [pursuing] poetry, romance and ephemeral prose":

Miller's collection was reported to have been left to the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, but in fact descended with the Craigentenny and

Britwell estates to his cousin Samuel Christy (1810–1889). The latter took the name Christie-Miller, and also represented Newcastle under Lyme, and he added considerably to the Britwell Court library, particularly at the sales of Thomas Corser's library in 1868–76. In 1852 he printed thirty copies of a specimen catalogue of William Henry Miller's collection, compiled by David Laing, and in 1873–6 issued a small edition of a fuller catalogue, covering in three volumes the areas of divinity, voyages and travel, and British history.<sup>7</sup>

It is from this copy Laing reprints the poem in *Poetical Works* (1873), adding that "for all [Skene's] pious care, the poem ran no small risk of utter oblivion, as only one copy of it has been discovered, and that one deficient of four leaves."<sup>8</sup>

Craig's printed material was collected by David Laing from the libraries of the Earl of Ellesmere, James Maidment, and the Samuel Christie-Miller estate for the Hunterian Club's edition of 'The Poetical Works of Alexander Craig', printed in Edinburgh, 1873 in a print-run of 210 copies. Other than replacing black letter for roman type, Laing's copy of 'Pilgrime and Heremite' sustains all the features of the 1631 print, including Raban's decoration, errata, and the eight pages indicating the missing quire which are left blank apart from the running titles.

For the print, then, it can be supposed that there were multiple exemplars of an unfinished poem which were gathered together from Craig's estate by heirs and presented by the poem's dedicator, Robert Skene. In his *Poetical*

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<sup>7</sup> Janet Ing Freeman, 'Miller, William Henry (1789–1848)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18748>, accessed 18 Oct 2013]

<sup>8</sup> David Laing, 'Introduction' to *The Poetical Works* pp. 1 – 21. (p. 21)



*Recreations* (1623), Craig does indeed write to his patron Lord George Gordon, Earle of Enyie, of "better stuffe (which is yet unseen)" which could plausibly refer to *The Pilgrime and Heremite*, a poem which could have been under long revision without completion before the poet's death. This may also account for motivations to publish the poem in its unfinished state.

### 1.5 Contextual Statement

Alexander Craig's 'Pilgrime and Heremite' was the only poem of his to be published posthumously and as a separate. The poem runs to 110 verses, 42 and a half of which are missing from the print. While researching for his entry on Craig for the DNB, Michael Spiller unearthed the manuscript copy, for which a short note in the catalogue reads 'Alexander Craig, the Pilgrime and Hermite. Copy c.1712 by 1631'. To solve the problems of the printed text, this thesis presents a diplomatic transcription of the manuscript and contextualises the transmission of the text.

Preceding the manuscript version in The Thoirs Commonplace Book (ff. 108v - 113r) the inscription reads 'The Pilgrime and Hermite Composed be the learned & famous poet Mr Alexander Craige of Rose Craige Banffa Brittanie first copied out of his Manuscripts the penult day of Februry 1631 by Mr Iames Kennedy agent 1631'. The hand in which the poem is copied is consistent with the rest of the miscellany: a mixed compressed secretary hand which uses a slightly larger and more fluid italic aspect for proper names. The poem appears to have been copied in one sitting, with

corrections to the text being made in neat secretary hand and with different ink.

The inclusion of the date is consistent with dating of liturgical and legal texts, royal addresses, and the odd musing or elegy on a specific person, but the literary texts in the manuscript are generally not as specifically dated as the 'Pilgrime and Hermite'. Another oddity of this poem is that, outwith the context of the surrounding folios in which it has been formed into its current booklet, there is very little correction and revision to the texts in the manuscript. This is not to suggest that the poem has pride of place, but its copyist did revisit and revise it to a greater extent than he did his other 'personal publications'.

Contributing to the hypothesis that this text was also copied from dispersed manuscripts, the following evidence is supplied. The numbering of the verses is inconsistent in two places: there are two verses numbered '44', a number '45' with no verse and no '46' either in number nor verse. The penultimate and last verses are both numbered '109'. The ink of the numbers is added later (though not much later, the ink dries the same but the numbers are superimposed where they cross with letters) which could suggest that the verses were copied and then the navigation was confirmed subsequently. At verse 95 and 96 there seems to be a confusion in copying where the scribe has reordered the verses and used decoration to denote the direction for the reader to take. Similar to most decoration in the copying of the poem, the scribe directs attention to the text for a reader. While it is noted that the different directions and varied layout of the verses conserves space, the

poem is the only text in the two booklets which varies the use of the space on the page quite so much. In copying the surrounding texts, the scribe has chosen (or has inadvertently used) the folio in the usual manner or upside-down. In the 'Pilgrime and Hermite' we find the paper being turned and turned again, relying on bracketing and numbering to create a logical sequence. The different directions of the stanzas and the errors in numbering of course, equally could be attributed to scribal error, which would be more than conceivable given the length of the poem and the rate which it was copied at.

In the above-quoted inscription that heads the poem in the MS, the genitive phrase preceding 'manuscripts' refers to Alexander Craig, so it is the author's manuscripts from which this version of the poem was copied. It seems unlikely that Mr James Kennedy would have copied from the disparate manuscripts, keeping the unfinished original in parts, without collating them into a sequence from which the Thoirs scribe copied. This prompts the question whether the same series of manuscripts informed the printed version, and if so, why are there significant differences in language, phrase and ideology between the printed and the manuscript version?

Initial evidence points to the identity of Mr James Kennedy as secretary to the 2nd Marquis of Huntly, George Gordon.<sup>9</sup> As Craig's patron,

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<sup>9</sup> John Spalding, *The History of the Troubles and Memorable Transactions in Scotland, from the year 1624 - 1645*, from the original ms. of John Spalding, then Commissary Clerk of Aberdeen, Vols. I & II as transcribed by James Dalgarno, (Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1850-1851). There is a Mr James Kennedy mentioned in Spaldings' accounts:

"Upon Sunday the 14th of April [1644] (by ordinance of the committee of the kirk or General Assembly at Edinburgh) the marquis of Huntly, the laird of Drum younger, Robert Irvine his brother, the laird of Haddo, the laird of Shethin, the laird of Tibbertie, Thomas Hay servitor to Haddo, and Mr. James Kennedy, secretary to the marquis, were all excommunicate at St. Giles' kirk in Edinburgh, and ordained

Gordon's secretary could very well have had access to Craig's papers. The witnesses then fall into competition with each other: each claiming Craig's authorship in 1631, one in Edinburgh and one in Aberdeen. Any future study of the poem would require a contextualisation of the differing patrons and could benefit from an exploration of Gordon's character and literary interests. It is outwith the scope of this thesis to ascertain the whereabouts or travels of the manuscript as copied by Kennedy, and then Thoires; however, a brief search through the archives at the University of Aberdeen reveals that the two families were in regular contact with each other over the years 1644 to 1745.

## 2.1 Textual Apparatus

This section describes the language used in the manuscript and, where relevant, compares the manuscript witness with the printed witness.

## 2.2 Morphology

None of the plural nouns in either witness retain the Older Scots plural noun ending -is. Where the inflexion -es is found in the manuscript, it occurs on countable nouns, eg. bankes, cheekes, hewes, but the manuscript mostly

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the next ensuing Sunday to be excommunicate (although Pasch-day) throughout all the rest of the kirks of Scotland. This is to be noted, that this committee of the kirk, without citation, probation, process, or sentence, according to their own discipline of kirk, went on most maliciously to excommunicate this nobleman and some of his friends without lawful process, or any reason, but for his loyalty to his master the king; doing all they could to make him odious in the sight of the people; but the marquis wisely beheld all. See the very act of the committee of the General Assembly made there anent." (Vol.2: p.373)

reflects PDE -s. This inflexion -es occurs far more frequently in the printed text, where it is used at the end of almost every plural noun. The usage pattern matches both in the verses and in the preface. All genitive singular nouns end in -s (without apostrophe) with one exception in the manuscript: 'Ruthes', V28.

The pronouns found in the manuscript are:

1st person:	I, me, my, ma, we, us, our
2nd person:	thou, the, 3e, thy
3rd person:	m: he, him, hes
	f: she, her
	n: it, hes.
	pl: yair

There is no distinction in the use of 3e and 3ou: they are used interchangeably for plurality and register. Present in the manuscript are the relative pronouns quhich, quhos, quho, and quhom.<sup>10</sup> In print, both the forms which use 3- and quh- have been anglicised into their PDE equivalents: th and wh.

Endings of comparative and superlative adjectives in both the manuscript and print reflect the use in PDE. Occasionally in the manuscript the adjective retains the OE ending -e, as in 'sharpe'.

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<sup>10</sup> The expansion of the contractions into the anglicised 'quhom' (as opposed to OS 'quham') is supported by textual evidence and discussed in the Transcription Policy.

In both the manuscript and print, present tense verbs behave as in PDE and follow the Northern Personal Pronoun Rule. This is evidenced by the use of I, thou, the, he, she as the subject of the clause coming immediately before the verb. Weak verbs in the preterite tense do not reflect OS -it, -ed instead, both in print and manuscript. Most strong verbs in the manuscript reflect PDE convention, except in two instances where the preterite tense remains the same as the infinitive, as in:

V37      & er he come to his health hold his hurt sore

V109    And of *yat* sweit seimlie *saint* : he held himself sure

In the manuscript, the verb 'would' is distinguished as a modal auxiliary verb when positioned after the pronoun, ie. 'I would'. The infinitive comes before the pronoun, as in 'would I...'.

The printed witness presents a much more anglicised text. Originating from OE inflexions, the singular nouns in the printed witness are inflected by -e; however, this is not present in the manuscript at all, eg. (ms) feet, (print) feete. Verbs in the 2nd person singular position in the printed witness follow the rules of EME grammar: delightest, doest, etc. As discussed in Section 2.9, the linguistic choices of Craig demonstrate his combination of both Scots and the fashions of English he found at the southern court. The printed *Pilgrime and Heremit* is no more anglicised than Craig's other printed works.

### 2.3 Orthography

Comparing the spellings across print and manuscript, variations include:<sup>11</sup>

VOWEL 1: OSc /ī/ > MSc /ei/

drigh, dry, drye; stryff, striff, strive; desyre, desire, desire

VOWEL 2: OSc /ê/ > MSc /ī/

fair, fare, fayre; remaine, remayne; disdane, disdaine, disdayne.

VOWEL 3: OSc /ê/ > MSc /ī/, /ē/

bein, bene, beene; leil, leall, leile; speed, speid, speede.

VOWEL 4: OSc /ā/ > MSc. /ê/

caice, case; hail, haile; sake, saik.

VOWEL 5: OSc /ō/ > MSc. /ō/

noise, noyse; choice, choyce; joind, joynd.

manuscript prefers [oy].

VOWEL 6: OSc /ū/ > MSc. /ū/

doune, down; witthouten, thou, thow.

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<sup>11</sup> The numbering of the vowels follows A.J. Aitken's as found in 'How to Pronounce Older Scots' in *Bards and Makars: Scots Language and Literature, Medieval and Renaissance*, eds. Aitken, McDiarmid & Thomson. (Glasgow: Glasgow University Press, 1977) pp. 1 - 21.

VOWEL 7 OSc /ō/ > MSc. /ū/

doe, doeth, doo; duits; duell.

VOWEL 8: OSc /ai/ > MSc /êi/ & /ê/

faire, fayre; dispair, dispaire, dispare, dispayr.

VOWEL 9: OSc /io/ > MSc /oi/

noise, noyse.

VOWEL 10: OSc /ui/ > MSc /ui/

foyled, voyd, coy; poynt, point; voyce, voice.

VOWEL 11: OSc /ei/ > /ē/ > MSc /ī/

weil, weall; sweet, sweit, sweete.

VOWEL 12: OSc /au/ > MSc /ā/

frawne, dawne, awne.

VOWEL 12a: OSc /al/ > MSc /au/

swallowd, call, fall, all.

VOWEL 13: OSc /ou/ > MSc /ou/

hower, houre, neighbour, Successoure;



VOWEL 14: OSc /eu/, /iu/ > MSc /iu/

new, anew, trew, drew, creaw.

manuscript only: creawe, heaw, ceaw, leaw, leaws, sheaw, weaw.

VOWEL 15: OSc /ɪ/ > MSc /ɪ/

mind, mynde, mynd; fynd, finde.

VOWEL 16: OSc /ě/ > MSc /ě/

feite, eite, sweite, Conceit.

VOWEL 17: OSc /ǣ/ > MSc /ǣ/

wes, was; branches, riches, shes.

VOWEL 18: OSc /ō/ > MSc /ō/

corps, corpse; worlde, world.

VOWEL 19: OSC /ũ/ > MSc /ũ/

under; come; unto, vnto; song, songe.

Variation of [y], [th], & [ʒ]:

The scribe tends to write [y] for ð as in yair, yairof, yen.

For θ, the scribe frequently interchanges [y] and [th] as in ye, the, consistently preferring to use [th] for the 2nd person singular objective pronoun.

Of the 40 times where [ʒ] is present, 20 are ʒitt; 5 are ʒow/ou; 4 are ʒe; 3 are ʒett; 2 are ʒeare(s); tuiʒ; fraʒen; freiʒe; freenʒie; Timomʒe; ʒon.

[ʒ] is not used at all in print and [th] is used for [y].

use of [ǔ]:

manuscript: Manǔscripts, thǔs, groǔ, Mǔrne, sorcplǔrs, frǔit, waǔnt, soǔr, saǔe, rǔle, tǔaine, loǔpe, trǔe, orgraǔe, mǔch, Croǔne, sorroǔ, fortǔne, thoǔgh, neptǔnes, doǔne,  
print: none.

use of [ff]:

manuscript: Ffor, Ffirst.  
print: none.

use of [β] :

manuscript: counβled, ffelβ.  
print: none.

Variation of qu, quh, & wh:

manuscript: qu- x16 in quod, quyle; quh- x135 in quhair, quhen, quhom, etc.; wh- x34, usually whyl-.  
print: consistent wh-.

-s/-ce variation:

manuscript: flowis, thais, finis/ since, grace, space, quhence, countenance, caice, presence, distances, etc. -ce is preferred.

print: Pilgrimis, finis/ whence, chance, caice, alace, presences, pearce, etc. -ce is preferred.

-we/-ve/-ue variation:

manuscript: hawe x 11, cawe x 3, abowe x 2, grawe x 2, salwe x 2, sawe x 2, creawe; love x 58, live x 11, have x 7, move x 6, prove x 4, above x 4, grieve x 3, cave x 2, gave x 2, braive x 2, remove, deseive, thrive, alive, strive, give, relieve, revive, serve; loue x 6, haue x 3, graue x 2, caue, saue, deserue.

print: loue x 28, haue x 10, liue x 5, caue x 5, salue x 2, graue x 2, aboue x 3, gaue, craue, remoue, leaue, thriue, aliue, wyue, prooue, reuiue, moue, captiue, greiue, serue. No -we or -ve.

-th- for -d- variation:

manuscript: burthened.

print: none.

## 2.4 Rhyme

The main stanza form in the poem is has 10 lines as and, as a standard, which have six long lines with four stresses and four short lines with two stresses. The first half lines ranging in length from 5 to 8 syllables and of these, the stress falls on two to four. The second half lines are from 4 to 6 syllables long, of which two or three are stressed. Where the scribe has room each of the 10 lines has it's own space, but more frequently the lines in positions 7-10 are written into the final two of an 8 line stanza, marked by a colon. Verses 1 - 80, including those marked Pilgrime (and then Eubulus), Erophilus, Erophilus letter to Poliphila, set this trend and from there, the distribution of rhymes is thus:

81: Poliphila ere she wrott this disputs with her selfe. ababbcc

87: Pilgrim: 8 line ababcdddc

89: Erophilus: continuous couplets.

89: Pil: 10 line ababcdddc.

90: Poliphilas answr to ~~Tra~~Erophilus: ababbcc

91: Pilgrime: 4 lines in couplets.

92: [cont]: aabbbc, & so 91 & 92 make a ten line stanza.

93: Erophilus his Testamente: 4 lines in couplets.

94: Eubulus: 4 lines in couplets.

95[cont]: aabbbc, & so 94 & 95 make one ten line stanza.

96: [cont]: ababcddc ten line stanza.

97: Poliphilas Complainte: ababbcc.

107 - finis: Eublus: 10 line stanzas.

Craig deviates from the main stanza for rhetorical effect. In the whole poem, it is only the Hermit who speaks in couplets. Often, these will contain 'poulter's measure' which has been identified as a characteristic of amatory laments and Craig employs it in another three of his poems: 'Scotlands Teares,' 'Calidons Complaint', and 'Elizabeth, Late Queen of England, Her Ghost' in his *Poeticall Essayes*, 1604.<sup>13</sup>

The rhyme scheme of the verses in the printed text are mapped onto the poem by Mackay's study of the poem, included in a survey and comparison of Older Scots alliterative poetry:<sup>14</sup>

Forty-eight stanzas composed of six long lines followed by four short lines appear in the course of the poem: thirty-eight in the introductory narrative, including the narrator's separate encounters with each of the lovers, two in the account of how he carries Poliphila's letter to the hermit, one as he gives him the letter, one prior to the sequence described as "The Heremite His Testament", two describing the approaching death of the hermit, and four as the narrator tells of the reconciliation of the lovers.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Sebastiaan Verweij, 'Poulter's Measure, Sir Edward Dyer, and the *Dier* in Jacobean Scotland' in *James VI and I, Literature and Scotland: Tides of Change, 1567-1625*, ed. David Parkinson (Louvain: Peeters, 2012), pp. 299 - 321 (p. 299).

<sup>14</sup> Margaret Mackay, 'The Alliterative Tradition in Middle Scots Verse', Unpublished PhD Thesis: Edinburgh University, 1975. p. 455.

<sup>15</sup> [Mackay's footnote] *The Poetical Works of Alexander Craig*, pp. 5-12, 21-22, 24, 26, 27, 31, 33-34.

In comparison to the texts examined in the thesis, "The Pilgrime and Heremite contain a high proportion of defects in alliteration." Mackay's analysis of the printed text is detailed and comprehensive, and a further study would benefit from a comparison of the alliterated stress patterns used in the manuscript to use in discussions of Craig's stylistics. The scope of the current study, however, focuses on the 41 and half stanzas which, if not complete the print text, do fill in the missing parts of the story.

## 2.5 Alliteration

With few variations, the lines in position 8-10 of the rhyme scheme will have 2 or 3 alliterating words, mostly 2 to each line. In this case, the alliteration pattern of the last 3 lines is a phonaesthetic device:

34. For whyls it revived me to note the nyce wife  
*qu*hich billows of the brawe broockes on green bankes gawe  
 through the sweet sound *yai*rof my heart did rejoyce  
*qu*hen cliffs of the cold clenghs ye cold streams cleare  
 somtyms I attend to the sweet warbleing nots  
*qu*hich birds on y brawe beughs did thirle thringe *yair* throats  
     whyls the bussing of the bees : Though the tops of tail  
     trees  
     wald my hurt heart heit : as they fell ~~xx~~ furth in flits

The sequence of voiced bilabial stops in 'bird on y brawe beughs' is then repeated by the tongue on the voiceless non-sibilant fricatives in 'thirle thringe *yair* throats,' interrupted by a voiced one. As it is placed, the most stress falls on line 10, drawing attention back to the hurt of the hermit. The repeated fricatives over lines 8 and 9 build up to an anticlimax in 'my hurt heart heit' by a trio of voiceless glottal fricatives, emphasised by the preceding iamb, and dissipate in voiceless labiodental fricatives which mimic the birds falling forth in their fleits.

From here the alliteration of lines 1 - 6 is fairly flexible, where the most a line has is in v.39, l.2: & sometime I swrvd sure a sueit seimly saint.

## 2.6 Vocabulary

The poem stands out in Craig's oeuvre as a long alliterative pastiche, dialogue, and complaint, full of characteristic archaisms and phrasings. The stanza forms and alliterations facilitate poetic diction. For example, methought; Leid, wight; tint trauell, trawel tint; on muild.<sup>16</sup> In v.32 - 74 there are twelve different expressions for Erophilus' complaint,<sup>17</sup> sixteen

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<sup>16</sup> Taken from throughout transcription.

<sup>17</sup> thy presence bade; duits of dispaire; droune me in dreade; worse caice; fret; fume; consume; death; thy doome; myne alon; false fortune; nofrand.

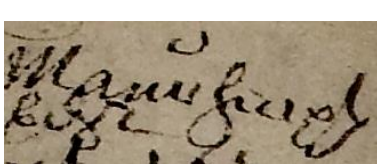
referents to Poliphila<sup>18</sup> and fifteen constructions which use alliterating synonyms.<sup>19</sup>

The poem is written in low style. There is one coinage which occurs in verse 105: 'exequall' for which the DSL entry records its first usage by Craig (*Amorous Songs*, 1606). Included in this edition, a glossary follows which notes borrowings and etymologies; the poem is written in predominantly low style diction in a synthesis of Scots and English spellings which fit with Craig's use of English in his other writings.

## 2.7 Palaeographic Evidence

fiche signalétique: see Appendix C.

[ts] evidence to support transcription of 'Manuscripts':



manuscript/is

statuts/is

respects/is

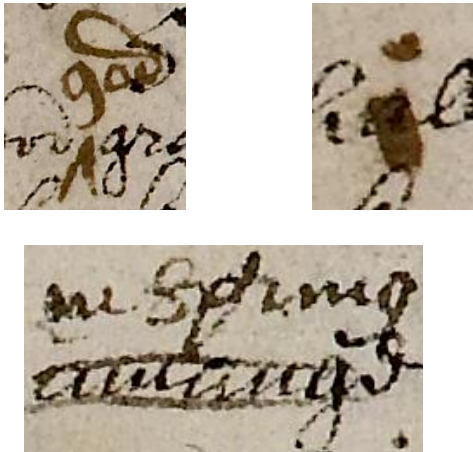
throats/is

<sup>18</sup> mistres, my sweite, leaw lou, seimly saint, nyce wife, she, myld maid, my love, false faciledame, my host, Dear Dame, hur, suiet saint, read rose, muise.

<sup>19</sup> Company & counsell; dispaire, dreade; frett, fume, caire; death, doom; suite, seimly; branches & beughs; the great & the good; greiffe and pyne; dispair & dwyne; dispair & cries.



### Example of Inked Overlay



## 2.8 Insertions, Corrections, and Deletions

As shown in the previous section, the text which was copied has been edited with different ink. The following section isolates every correction, deletion, and insertion, and compares this with the print. As can be seen, the majority of the changes correlate with the decisions made in the printed text; however, there are a number of insertions which are not recorded in print and there are many changes in the print which are not shown on the manuscript witness. The list below categorises the changes made to the manuscript by the second ink into insertions, marked lines & changes made to the manuscript which are not present in the print. There is no evidence to suggest that the manuscript was proof for print, indeed, if it was included in

the manuscripts used to compile the printed text, Skene must have substantively changed the copy made by 'Ja Kennedy. '

V2.

MS as fast as my feet might I still **forward** followed fair

Print As fast as my feete might, forward I fare.

[insertion]

MS to the bush **I** wes brought

Print To a Bush was I brought

[insertion]

V6.

MS but since thou art heir hapt so god me **speid**

Print But since you are heere come, so GOD mot mee speede

[insertion]

V10.

MS as a **bound** beadman into her y works all my woe

Print as bound Bead-man to Her that workes all my woe

[insertion]

MS this ditto indorsd **yair** shall weall writtne be

Print This Diton indorsed shall well written bee

[not present in print]

V12.

MS Most mad man why lows thou thy liffs for thy host

Print Mad man! why mak'st thou thyne enemy thy hospe?

[insertion]

#### V14.

MS Stay **still** saith my will yett

Print Stay, sayes wil Will yet.

[not present in print]

#### V15.

MS But quair thou wold seime to salwe all my faire

Print But where thou wouldst seeme to salve all my sore

[insertion]

#### V.15

MS Yet liwer & lights **both** did light in this love

Print Through Liver, Lungs, and Lights, fly vp in a low

[not present in print]

MS yat I dye **let** so be

Print That I die, so bee it

[not present in print]

#### V18.

MS quhat **grace** gaine can thou heir gaine in dole still to dye

Print What grace canst thou get, in duill heere to die?

[insertion]

V20.

MS      **revive** me again

Print    May reviuue mee agayne.

[insertion]

V22.

MS      an he yat deserts weall to reap **Leist** reward

Print    And hee that deserues well to reape best reward

[not present in print]

V23.

MS      advyse the on his be never too trew

Print    Advyse thee on this well. *Bee never too true*

[insertion]

MS      and though both say & swear thy mynd shall not move

Print    Though thou sweare and say thy mynde shall not moue

[marked with X]

V24.

MS      if she's stray be thou

Print    And if you well doe

[insertion]

V25.

MS      & were I wise (weall **witt yow** wott) I wold doe the same

Print    And I f that I were wyse, I would doe the same

[not present in print]

V25

MS Nor oure presence **pearce** procured and quhen I wes placed yair

Print Than did her presence perfect mee, when I was there.

[not present in print]

#### V26

MS Half dead in deserts **heire** why should I duell

Print Halfe dead in Desart, heere why should I dwell

[insertion]

#### V26

MS or why murne I for quho means not my ~~meane~~ **good**

Print Or why mourne I for her that keepes Disdayne?

[not present in print]

MS I dare not alace do it Till my wows tyme be gone

Print My Vow is so vayne.

[not present in print]

#### V27

MS I fettered my fond fancie ~~be-to~~ her fair face

Print That fettered my fond Heart in her fayre Face. not present

**Ruth. mend in soreplurs Ruths love with gods leaw**

[not present in print]

#### V28

MS yat Ruthes love with the ~~love~~ be to my love lent

Print That rueth to my ruethless Love had beene lent

[not present in print]

MS      & Cupid I **ceaw** call the.

Print    And *Cupid*, I call on thee

[not present in print]

V29

MS      As is best lyketh her & the **cost** lott alace

Print    As shee well pleaseth, the best is but Claise.

[not present in print]

from the missing pages

V32

MS      by duits of dispaire is to ~~drive~~ **droune** me in dreade

Print    [missing]

V35.

MS      To slay **my** hunger startd stomaik whyls would I eite

Print    [missing]

V36

MS      I laike my leaw loe

Print    [missing]

V37.

MS      poor patient suppose yen thou lowpe to be **Paust**

Print    [missing]

MS      but sins thou perceivs weil I would sie ye sound

Print    [missing]

V42

MS I know a Colliuiy ~~to~~ **cane** cure all thy caire

Print [missing]

MS yat thy pains shal **the** propell

Print [missing]

#### V43

MS **yrs yrs** Some saw for each sore saue blind love alone

Print [missing]

MS & orpheus can **weall** tell

Print [missing]

MS e yer Q. her crowned

Print [missing]

#### V44

MS In hell heavn earth seas by **ris** bolts burns abroad

Print [missing]

#### V44

MS for had thou power to prswad as doror **orator** of Rome

Print [missing]

#### V47

MS The best counsall ~~yt~~ I cane

Print [missing]

#### V48

MS My limbs & my leggs both I lenne quod they lefte

Print [missing]

#### V49

MS And **fra** night to morrow

Print [missing]

V50.

MS The great & the good **god** grant grace thou may speed

Print [missing]

MS Thus our we tuaine of farewells **judge** miriads wertaine

Print [missing]

MS He na words ~~of~~ **for** wae speiks

Print [missing]

V51

MS **To** and sad Echo **shaill** sing

Print [missing]

MS The moist mountains ~~amange~~ **in spring**

Print [missing]

V56.

MS Playnts boldlie ~~the~~ **(ry** Inke murne & show thy love

Print [missing]

V58.

MS He dyes alace because his senses show

Print [missing]

MS in wofull words yat ~~hie~~ **such** is her content

Print [missing]

V65.



MS quhich maks the bieast quhair ~~thou~~ **she** aboad to bleid

Print [missing]

V66.

MS are quyte forgott & she is **tryd** turnd untrew

Print [missing]

MS die yen poor heart and bide **ye world** delyt adieu

Print [missing]

V67

MS in vallies ~~ways~~ **unto** amidst the woods & trees

Print [missing]

V73

MS or air yow not yet at the noise of these my **nyce** newes

Print [missing]

MS ffor Christs **saik** if you caire

Print [missing]

V74

MS Sir Telephus ye **trojan** tyriane as trew stories tell

Print [missing]

MS yat wrought ye woe by ye reward it as ~~height~~ **by Dight**

Print [missing]

MS bot **on** you man have remorse

Print On your Man have remorse

[insertion]

MS      Least **each** yow & him divorce

Print    Least Death him and you divorce

[not present in print]

V75

MS      quhen libertie and liffe both hath lost with a **yor** looke

Print    who Libertie, and Lyfe both, hath lost with a Looke.

[not present in print]

V80.

MS      but things ~~feles~~ **feiles** on they feet thus friendlie doth faire

Print    But through the Fieldes on thy Feete friendlie doest fare

MS      Thow shall **sall** on the way walk or stay in the street

Print    Thow shalt walke on thy way, and stay on the Street

[insertion]

v.80 MS      & hence throu a hoole heard **eare**

Print    And through a hole I heard

[not present in print]

V 81

MS      In principall & **In [illegible]** noble parts ar pynd

Print    When all the chiefe and noblest partes are pynde.

[not present in print]

V 82

MS      **& I** for my saint my slawe for me is slaine

**& I** of his threed of myne he keips ye kniffe

Print     Yea, for my loue with slaverie is slaine

How shall I rid this strange and fatall stryfe?

[not present in print]

V 83

MS        quhat weard quhen knows he best to yeild unto

Print     Which is the best Advise to yeelde vnto?

[marked with an X]

V 88.

MS        For quhen I weil knew his voyage~~ce~~

Print     But, when I knew his voice

[insertion]

MS        the wyd woods **in** among

Print     The wild woods among

[not present in print]

89 Erophilus Complaint

MS        In sheaw yair sade and pearceing pens **panis** & cause yair cairis be  
kend

Print     For to expresse their piercing paines, and cause their Cares bee  
kende

[insertion]

MS        in earth in air in vaults above nor in the glassie sety **a sea**

Print     In Skyes aboue, on earth beneath, nor in the glassie Sea.

[not present in print]

MS No Metaphorick ph~~r~~aye nor quick invention braive

Print No Metaphoricke Phrase, no high Invention braue

[circled word: wray]

MS I haw no method left to me to hav~~m~~e how my warks I may be

and nothing doth wrage my matchless greiffe ~~greiff~~ so **M**uch

Print Thus in effect I wot not how my wracks to bewray

And nothing doeth aggregge my griping greife so much

[not present in print]

circled word: Dyer [not emphasised in print]

circled word: mack [not emphasised in print]

MS my yitt & skadding **fiyrs** noliniall course cane mack

Print My hote aand smoothred sighes, no levill course can take:

[not present in print]

V93

MS Long hawe I lockt by thoughts fra quhen~~ce~~ ye **torments** of sorroũ  
spring

Print Long haue I lookt for joy, whence floods of sorrow spring

[not present in print]

MS for loe ye faithless **fayr** into this state me calls

Print For loe, the faithlesse Fates vnto this state mee calles

[not present in print]

MS & mounting me may mack ye plead for ~~my~~<sup>thy</sup> peace tyme about

Print And mounting much, might make thee pleade, for Peace thy time  
about

[not present in print]

#### V99

MS since poysons coupe quhich I hawe drunk so deipe

Print [no corresponding verse]

MS And hath not yeto proclaimd my peirles paine

Print [no correspodning verse]

#### V102

MS of any hope yat hawe but horror felt (**render st of ship**

Print And did mistrust my true and constant Loue

[not present in print]

#### V107

MS And so whilst yat rarest pearle depainting out her painte

Print And so when that rare Pearle departed out of paine

[not present in print]

MS Upon the dead cold corps of her owne lealest love

Print Vpon the colde dead Corpse of her leile Loue.

[not present in print]

#### V108

MS wonder of hie world

Print This is the Worldes most wondrous worthie Wight

[not present in print]

MS      light from above

Print    And lent mee this light, to looke on my leile loue

[not present in print]

## 2.9      Initial Conclusions

As an accompaniment to the newly presented edition, this section provides the context of the text and presents initial findings of the project. This thesis set out to solve the problems of the incomplete 1631 print of 'The Pilgrime and Heremite, in forme of a dialogue,' by constructing an edition which included both the print and manuscript witnesses, alongside manuscript facsimiles, to provide a resource which can best study the transmission of the text through its different works. The following discussion offers a contextualisation of the text through its works and the agents involved in producing them, and points to potential areas for further study.

### Alexander Craig (1567 - 1627)

Described as "the most underestimated of all Scottish writers,"<sup>20</sup> what scarce biographical evidence there is paints Craig as a colourful character: an opportunist at court, a lover of wit, and a loyal supporter of his king. Born to

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<sup>20</sup> R.D.S. Jack, 'The Poetry of Alexander Craig: A study in imitation and originality' *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 5 (1969), pp. 377-84. (p. 378) The article is an assessment of Craig's poetic influence at court, the sources of his style, and the motivations for the intertextualities present in his work. *The Pilgrime & Heremite* is not discussed.

a burgess, he followed in his father's footsteps and then studied alongside Robert Ayton for an MA at St Andrews University, graduating in 1586 and quickly being appointed as notary in his hometown, Banff in Aberdeenshire.

Craig was a courtier at the Scottish court of James VI & I, and followed king and coterie south after the Union of Crowns in 1603. The writerly objectives of James VI & I encouraged and facilitated a thriving group of court poets who took their lead from 'Ane Schort Treatise Containing Some Reulis and Cautelis to be Observit and Eschewit in Scottish Poesie' (Edinburgh, 1584), which formed an exposition on the use of language and form in Scottish poetry designed to realise this attention to poetics and situate Scotland strongly within the European literary culture. If *Reulis and Cautelis* was the James' manifesto, his court poets were its champions. Whether a deliberately constructed band or a poetically unified intelligentsia<sup>21</sup>, poets including Craig, Robert Ayton, Alexander Montgomerie, John Stewart of Baldyneiss, William Fowler, and William Alexander formed a regicentric literary circle that was very much concerned with language and how language could be used to describe the world; to disseminate moral and spiritual reflection; to play language games, incorporating styles from wider European Renaissance literature and continuing the conception of reading as an important moral and, sometimes more pertinently, social practice which had been passed down by the early Makars. There is no room in the present essay to discuss Craig's literary influences or adoptions and adaptations of James' literary tenets in his *Reulis*

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<sup>21</sup>The once popularised term 'Castalian Band,' used to refer to James' court poets, has been debunked by Priscilla Bawcutt's article in *The Scottish Historical Review* 80, no.210 part 2 (2001), pp. 51 - 59, 'James VI's Castalian Band: A Modern Myth' which re-examines the assumptions made about this terminology.

and *Cautelis*, and the treatment of these by the court poets, but RDS Jack's detailed assessment of Craig and his role at court reveals a character who was well integrated in court society who used a collage of imitation and allusion, veering away from James' favoured amatory fashions of Petrarch yet continuing to foreground classical imagery and metaphysical wit.<sup>22</sup>

Self-fashioning himself as *Scoto-Britane* on several of his title pages, Craig outlines the initial difficulties in straddling both English and Scots language at court saying: "the one innated, I cannot forget; the other as a stranger, I can not vpon the sodaine acquire".<sup>23</sup> Here, it should be noted that to automatically read linguistic choice as an expression of national preference or prejudice would be erroneous: though the Union of Crowns and the wider use of the printing press coincide with the anglicisation of writing in Scots, there was not always the hegemonic agenda which came in later centuries, but, in the initial decades of the union, Scots writers were presented with a new range of stylistic options to choose from. Though some criticism mislabels Craig's metre as faulty and his mastery of English was somewhat to be desired,<sup>24</sup> his use of both languages evidences a practiced craftsmanship inspired by new surroundings, demonstrating the 'ingyne' so aspired to in the *Reulis and Cautelis*.

Craig's first published work was printed by William White in London 1604: *The Poeticall Essayes of Alexander Craige, Scoto-Britane*.

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<sup>22</sup> Jack. (p.384).

<sup>23</sup> *The Poeticall Essayes of Alexander Craige of Rosecraig*, ed. David Laing, Hunterian Club (Glasgow, 1873) "Poeticall Essayes" p. 11.

<sup>24</sup> Jack. (p. 379)



The poetic output of the northern court almost ceased around the Union of Crowns. Not one to miss an opportunity, Craig says in his *Poeticall Essays*:

When others cease, now I begin to sing;

And now when others hold their peace, I shout.<sup>25</sup>

In this collection Craig wrote predominantly in sonnets, highly praising the King and his wife Anne, and committing his poetical career to the king's favour. Following in the footsteps of Alexander, Fowler, and others who were influenced by James' infatuation with Sir Philip Sidney, Craig published a collection of amatory verses in 1606: *The Amorous Songs, Sonets, and Elegies*, again printed by William White in London.

His shouting worked: Craig was appointed legal secretary to George Home, Earl of Dunbar in 1606 who served as Treasurer at court. The Earl has been described as the "virtual chief minister in the affairs of Scotland and North England," earning himself his own brand of control: "Dunbar's Border hegemony."<sup>26</sup> Working with the king's implicit trust, Dunbar supported the political activities of the Earl of Argyll in introducing acts to revive episcopacy. In January 1609, the king appointed him "to steer the Convention of Estates, in order to crush those "contrarie professouris" who had arisen since the last General Assembly... by imposing bishops on the presbyterians."<sup>27</sup> Though his personal religious opinions were never revealed, it should be noted here for later discussion, he was described by Guy Fawkes as "the greatest heretic in all of Scotland," and came under fire

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<sup>25</sup> Craig, *Poeticall Essays*, (p. 7) Quoted by Jack. (p.378)

<sup>26</sup> Jared R.M. Sizer, 'The Good of this Service Consists in Absolute Secrecy: The Earl of Dunbar, Scotland and the Border (1603-16011)' in *Canadian Journal of History* 36, no.2 (2001 pp.229 - 257. (p.238)

<sup>27</sup> Sizer. (p. 248)

from the staunch Presbyterian David Calderwood for his fickle attitude to religious practice. Accounts of his personality and attitude to his job refer to him as a formidable character who kept his laws by his reputation and Machiavellian sensibilities.<sup>28</sup>

By 1609, Craig is back in Banff and married to Isobel Chisholm. The reasons for Craig's return to Scotland are unclear, but it is perhaps too easy to fit upon him the narrative of the "disillusioned"<sup>29</sup> Scot returning home from the English court. Keeping up with the political career of Dunbar could certainly have driven him to settled retirement. Or perhaps he simply preferred his 'small house with a decent garden, comfortably furnished, and a little slope that yields me masses of roses'<sup>30</sup> in Banff to the London court. Whatever the reason, by 1609 Craig had returned to Scotland and published *The Poetical Recreations of Mr Alexander Craig of Rosencraig* in Edinburgh, printed by the king's Edinburgh printer, Thomas Finlayson. Craig is appointed commissioner for Banff in the Scottish Parliament and remains in Banff until his estate is recorded as being inherited by his son James in 1627.

On James' only return to Scotland at Kinnaird Castle in 1617, Craig contributed verses to the speech which John Adamson presented him with in 'The Muses Welcome to the High and Mighty Prince James'.<sup>31</sup> And the last publication which Craig oversees is in 1623, where Edward Raban prints for

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<sup>28</sup> Sizer. (p. 251).

<sup>29</sup> R.D.S Jack, 'Chapter Four: After the Union' in the same author's *The Italian Influence on Scottish Literature*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1972). pp. 90 - 144. (p. 92).

<sup>30</sup> Latin epigram in Craig's collection *The Poetical Recreations of Mr Alexander Craig of Rosencraig* (1623) p.35. Translated by Spiller in DNB article.

<sup>31</sup> Reprinted in *The Scots Magazine; Or, General Repository of Literature, History and Politics* Volume 56, pp. 317 - 319. under the heading 'Curious Speech Made to James VI of Scotland at the town of Perth'.

him a new set of poems under the same title as his 1609 collection. The book is printed for the bookseller David Melville and dedicated to George, Earl of Enyie, &c, the eldest son and successor of George, first Marquis of Huntly, whose "active share with the royalists in the North is well-known, till he was taken prisoner, sent to Edinburgh, and tried, where he was beheaded at the Market Cross, March 22, 1649."<sup>32</sup>

In the epistle dedicatorie in the 1623 collection, Craig speaks of "better stuffe (which is yet vnseene)"<sup>33</sup> which could refer to the manuscripts from which 'The Pilgrime and Heremite' was formed. Certainly he did not intend that to be his last publication, as he writes in 'The Author's Resolution':

*But I will sing, even to the day I dye;*

*Birds to themselues make Mirth, and so shall I.*<sup>34</sup>

### Solving the Problems of the 1631 Print

'The Pilgrime and Heremite, in forme of a dialogue' stands out in Craig's oeuvre as his only poem to be published as a separate text and to be his only posthumous publication. It was printed in 1631 four years after he died by Edward Raban, Aberdeen's first printer, after it had been compiled by Robert Skene. Described by Spiller as "a bibliographical curiosity,"<sup>35</sup> the 1873 collection of Craig's work by David Laing meticulously reprints the missing quire from the original as blank pages. Supplying the transcription

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<sup>32</sup> Laing, 'Introductory Notice' in Craig, *Poetical Works*, ed. Laing. (p.18)

<sup>33</sup> Laing. (p.4)

<sup>34</sup> Laing. (p.34)

<sup>35</sup> Spiller, 'Found in the Forest'.(p. 377)

beside the print completes the poem's exposition; however, it becomes clear that the manuscript used by Raban presented such a different text that, unless the missing quire is found, the text in print remains incomplete. The following discussion identifies some problems of the print posed by the manuscript witness, and exemplifies how the comparison can illuminate possible conditions surrounding the print's production.

The poem is an alliterative pastiche which falls more readily into the complaint genre than the titled 'dialogue'. Narrated by the Pilgrim, we are taken into his dream where he wanders through the forest and stumbles upon the cave of a Hermit who he overhears moaning about his lot in life. Through exchanges between the Pilgrim and Hermit, it becomes apparent that the Hermit's love of a woman, Poliphila, is unrequited and that this is the source of all his woe and isolation. He persuades the Hermit to write a letter to Poliphila which he then takes to her, in a short horse ride. Delivering the letter, the Pilgrim eavesdrops on Poliphila while she decides what to do. In a confusing turn of events, she writes the Hermit a letter refusing his love and gives this to the Pilgrim to take to the Hermit, yet she decides to follow after him knowing that the letter will be the cause for the Hermit to end his life. On reading her letter he does just that, but reawakens as Poliphila finishes her Complaint and the lovers ride off into the woods together, leaving the Pilgrim to wake from his dream. The allegory which is left open to the reader of the manuscript is explicit in print. Craig includes a concise moralitas in the 'Poeme' which concludes the printed text; the interpretation of which is illuminated by Michael Spiller's recent article:the

first detailed study of 'The Pilgrim and Hermite' which takes both witnesses into account. He reads,

The Hermit as mankind alienated by sin... The Pilgrim is mankind repenting and conveying a message to God; and the Lady is of course the mercy of God leading man from death to the holy land ... We could allegorise the idea of the two covenants - the covenant of grace, vouchsafed in the New Testament by Christ in person, which saves man from death, but which is preceded in time by the written covenant of the Law, by which man is condemned to die. The Law precedes, as it were, with its written message of punishment for sin, and the living presence then follows, on a palfrey (which should symbolically have been a donkey) to resurrect and save.<sup>36</sup>

Applied to both witnesses, Spiller's interpretation of the print's 'poeme' allows us to look back at the farcical ending with religious understanding. Working on the assumption that Craig was substituting a Christian allegory for a secular romantic complaint, Spiller goes on to discuss how "the Pilgrime and Hermit are manifestations of sinful man, the Hermit man in a state of despair, resigned to death, and the Pilgrim man in a state of repentance, sending out for help."<sup>37</sup>

If writing for a conservative readership, Craig would possibly leave out the Classically suggestive names as they are found in the manuscript version: Eubulus, Good Counsellor; Erophilus, the man in love with love,

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<sup>36</sup> Spiller, 'Found in the Forest,' (p.386)

<sup>37</sup> Spiller, 'Found in the Forest,' (p. 388)

and Poliphila, lover of many. Here, the names point to a possible source:<sup>38</sup> the 1499 *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, a popular Renaissance text which was written by Francesco Colonna. This text, which tells the story of Poliphila's male namesake, Poliphilo, recounts his story of being transported by a dream into a wild forest after he is shunned by his beloved, Polia (many things). Though this love and strife poem lacks the Pilgrim and the letter writing, it does incorporate the double dream<sup>39</sup> of Craig's Pilgrim and provokes another reading of the ending. Rejected by his lady once more, Poliphilo falls dead at her feet until, blessed by Venus, she returns to him bringing him back to life with a kiss. As Poliphilo wraps his arms around her, she disappears and he wakes from his dream. The parallels with the Pilgrim and Hermite do not go much beyond this, but it is interesting to consider the hinterland of love and strife narratives, especially when considering the Pilgrim's role as the narrator and mediator of a star crossed couple with borrowings from Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid* evidenced in his description of the 'heaw horie Hermit' (V.4) being infected with the 'leprocie of love' (V.47).

Agreeing with Spiller's *contrafactum* hypothesis that Craig was rewriting a secular text for a religious audience, it is not difficult to assume that the changes in print were made to the expectations of his intended readership(s). The political and religious turmoil of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries dominated the ideologies of societal organisation. The beginning of a new era saw "instability evident at every level of society, as

<sup>38</sup> Considered beside the *favole boscherecchie* texts which Spiller cites.

<sup>39</sup> Craig, 'The Pilgrime and Hermite' as transcribed in present edition: Verse 107: "yett whilst I dreamd in this double."

traditional beliefs and ways of doing things, and established order, gave way to uncertainty and fear”<sup>40</sup>. Scotland's monarchy had been disputed for centuries, resulting in a continued pattern of minority sovereigns. As Wormald discusses, the convergence of minority government and religious disturbance paradoxically worked in Scotland's favour. With a succession of young monarchs the Scottish court had learned to rely more heavily on its government and kirk than did its European counterparts.<sup>41</sup>

In 1618, the General Assembly sat at Perth to convene over James VI & I's most controversial policy applied in Scotland, the Five Articles of Perth which would see kneeling during communion; private baptism; private communion; confirmation by Bishop; observance of Holy days, being integrated into the practice of the Presbyterian church. Craig voted in favour of the Five Articles of Perth<sup>42</sup> and, though they were passed by the General Assembly in 1618, they were not ratified until 1621. Both Craig and his patron, the Earl of Dunbar, were loyal to the King and could have aligned themselves with his politics without necessarily agreeing with his assertion of Episcopalian practices north of the border, so it cannot be assumed that Craig was necessarily religiously less Presbyterian or Puritan leaning than those who voted against the Five Articles. Irrespective of Craig's personal views, it would be doubtful that a text resembling the manuscript witness would have been printed in the politically contentious atmosphere of the printing press and book trade. Had Raban and Skene come across earlier

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<sup>40</sup>Jenny Wormald, 'The Growth of Protestantism' in *Court, Kirk and Community: Scotland 1470-1625*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981) pp.95 - 107. (p.95)

<sup>41</sup> Wormald, 'The Growth of Protestantism,' (p.96)

<sup>42</sup> Jack, 'Chapter Four: After the Union,' (p. 92).

versions of the Pilgrime & Heremite, there would have been plenty motivation to edit the poem to fit contemporary Protestant aesthetics: the output of the printing press and its printer were under close scrutiny.

There are several incidents which point to Raban's acute awareness of the politics of his craft. After a period in Leiden, Edward Raban (d.1658) arrived in Edinburgh in 1620 and set up printing in the Cowgate before moving to St Andrews. After the Reformation, the sponsorship of printers came from the upper classes, passing the responsibility from the clergy and the crown, to an aristocratic set of patrons. From St Andrews, he seems to have moved to Aberdeen under the auspices of Dr Robert Baron, Bishop Patrick Forbes, bookseller David Melville (the latter paid his rent until Melville's death in 1635).<sup>43</sup> Forbes & Sir John Menzies, vouching for Raban, arranged a patent from James VI: "the unusual nature of the agreement to employ Raban suggests that the council was particularly concerned to introduce book production to the burgh."<sup>44</sup> Raban's appointment to the University as printer (evidenced in 1622 when a salary of 40 pounds Scots was ordered to be annually paid to him)<sup>45</sup> is simultaneous with his appointment as printer for the University and for the Kirk. Later, in 1638, a propaganda stand against the Covenanters by the Aberdeen Doctors was aided by access to Raban's press: The Covenanters published their reply to the Aberdeen Doctors' demands, not realising that Raban's press had been used previously to print those demands, ready for

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<sup>43</sup> The duty was fulfilled by Melville's son, Robert, who sold a substantial collection of books to meet the payment of rent. JP Edmond, *The Aberdeen Printers, Edward Raban to John Nichol 1620 - 1736*, (Aberdeen: J&JP Edmond: 1886) p.37 .

<sup>44</sup> Alistair J. Mann ' *The Scottish Book Trade 1500-1720* (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 2000) (p. 9)

<sup>45</sup> Edmond, p. 37.



publication to belie the Covenanters' answers. Calling each other's bluff, "...there followed a complicated exchange of papers between the two sides, with Raban printing the papers of both."<sup>46</sup>

Of the 109<sup>47</sup> books printed by Raban in Aberdeen 1620 until 1633, 26 of these were printed for David Melvill and of those 25, 6 were Older Scots texts. Additionally, he authored the works: *Raban's Resolution Against Drunkenness*, *Raban's Resolution Against Whoredome*, *Raban's Resolution against Sabbath-breakers* (1622) and *The Glorie of Man, Consisting in the Excellencie and perfection of Woman...* (1638). From autobiographical writings in the former works, we learn that Raban had left England as a runaway apprentice to join in arms with Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange. Critically, the gap in Raban's biography was filled by John Philip Edmond in his *Last Notes on the Aberdeen Printers*, where he links Raban as an apprentice to William Brewster and Thomas Brewer of the Pilgrim Press in Leiden. The printing of the *Perth Assembly*, by David Calderwood, situates the Pilgrim Press in the "the pamphlet war against the Five Articles of Perth."<sup>48</sup> A resolute opposer of James VI & I's attempts to impose episcopacy on the Church of Scotland, his writings were sent over to Leiden to be printed before being smuggled back into the country. And, as Duff discovers,

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<sup>46</sup> Stevenson, p.320

<sup>47</sup> According to Aldis (year: printed by Raban/ printed in Scotland): 1620: 4/19; 1621: 4/18; 1622: 11/15; 1623: 12/17; 1624: 4/8; 1625: 9/19; 1626: 6/12; 1627: 10/22; 1628: 3/22 (predominantly Finlayson); 1629: 10/27; 1630: 6/24; 1631: 11/27; 1632: 7/19; 1633: 12/38.

<sup>48</sup> Mann, (p.87)

A very short examination of the books from the [Pilgrim Press in Leiden and Raban's at Aberdeen] presses will show that many of the ornaments and initials are the same, while some of the initials of both are marked by the same blemishes... there remained places in Scotland where Calderwood was popular, and it was perhaps through his advice, for he was at the time himself a refugee in Holland, that Raban started to seek his fortune in Scotland as a printer.<sup>49</sup>

In 1639, Raban was called in front of the General Assembly when he and his wife were accused of 'injuring and dinging' members of the General Assembly on Christmas eve, 1638. Under suspicion of editing a Psalm book with the Book of Common Order, or Presbyterian Liturgy, which was included in the appendix of the Psalter in 1640, he was accused of deliberately shortening the end prayer by instruction of an anti-covenanting Aberdeen minister, though he "pleaded it was simply for lack of paper that he had curtailed the prayer, humbly asked pardon of the Assembly, and was dismissed with a caution."<sup>50</sup> Raban ends his career printing less

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<sup>49</sup> E Gordon Duff, *The early career of Edward Raban, afterwards first printer at Aberdeen* (London, 1922) p. 247 -8.

<sup>50</sup> James Gordon writes: "Some letters wer founde wrytten by the bishop of Rosse, concerning the printing of the Booke of Canons, and a timber peece of *tailly du pierre*, whereupon was cut the Kings armes, to be printed into the frontispiece of that booke. These letters wer publickly reade in the Assemblie, as if they had imported something very extraordinar; but ther was none present to ansuer for them. Only the printer, Edward Raban, ane Englishman, was calld upon; and because they could not formally challenge him for printing the bishoppes canons, therfor it was objected that he had manked ane common prayer in a new edition of the psalm booke, which some yeares befor he had printed, in a large octavo. It was a forme of ane evning prayer, whence he had tacken of the conclusion for want of paper, it being the closure of the last sheete of the booke. There wer other coppies of that prayer readde, and they wold needs the printer confesse that he had throwne away all that clause out of designe, or by warrant of some of the ministers of Aberdeen. The printer protested solemnly, that what he did was of himself, and was done for want of paper; and simply that if they wer offended, he craved them humble pardon; that he

controversial books: school books, theses, sermons and theological discourses; almanacs and lighter pieces for Melville.

Looking at the textual evidence from the *Pilgrime and Heremite* and Raban's printing history and close partnership with David Melville makes the motivations for printing Craig's work clearer. As Spiller notes<sup>51</sup>, if his friends and executors did indeed know of the longer work which Craig was working on, they would have been eager to have it edited and published. The 1631 is dedicated to William Forbes of Tolquhon<sup>52</sup> who had legal connections to Craig,<sup>53</sup> and possibly links to the later printers in Aberdeen, Forbes&Forbes. There could also have been motivations to, in the habit of Craig, follow the trends of the times and publish a substantial work of contrafactum which may have appealed to the same audience which praised Elizabeth Melville's *Ane Godlie Dreame* (1603; 1604 in English).

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could instance that, except in that copy, he had never omitted to print the conclusion of that evning prayer in any other edition of the psalms in meeter, and should never omitted it againe. So, after a rebooke for his rashnesse in curtailing a prayer, he gott licence to be gone, without furdur censure.” in *History of Scots Affairs, from 1637 to 1641*, Vol.3, p. 238 -9

<sup>51</sup> Spiller, 'Found in the Forest', (p. 386)

<sup>52</sup> This is not the same William Forbes as the Bishop of Edinburgh.

<sup>53</sup> JP Edmond, *The Aberdeen Printers, Edward Raban to John Nichol 1620 - 1736*, (Aberdeen: J&JP Edmond: 1886) (p.xxvi) reads: 1641 31st March The said day in presence of William Forbes baillie compired Eduard Raban printer in aber and grantit and confest him restand auchtand to Mr Thomas Gray late baillie of the said brugh Thrie score punds usuall Scotese moy for paper ust & reeavve be im from the said Mr Thomas. Quhilk sowme the said Eduard acts publest him to pay the said Mr Thomas within terme of Law. W Forbes baillie Edward Raban.

Inclusion in NLS Adv MS 35.4.14: The Thoirs Famliy

Commonplace Book

Recent scholarship demonstrates the unique insights which miscellany manuscripts can offer to the studies of Scottish literature. A recent survey of Scottish miscellany manuscripts by Priscilla Bawcutt notes that,

A printed book's readership was potentially large, geographically dispersed, and mostly unknown to author or publisher. A manuscript's readership was likely to be smaller, close at hand, more intimate. One might roughly analyse its components as the compiler; his or her family and friends; and later generations of the family.<sup>54</sup>

Printed publication was not always the goal, and the copyist scribed print to manuscript, as well as manuscript for print.<sup>55</sup> In the seventeenth century, Scotland had a dependency on English presses - academics and scholars sought English or Continental imprint for their works.<sup>56</sup> Scribal publishing and manuscript circulation offered an environment for texts outwith the control and surveillance of the printing press.

Where studies have favoured the printed book, the analysis tends to be on the production and supply rather than demand. Ranging from the

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<sup>54</sup> Priscilla Bawcutt, 'Scottish Manuscript Miscellanies from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century' in *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700 vol.12*, eds. Beal & Edwards, pp. 46 - 65 (p.58 - 9).

<sup>55</sup> Bawcutt, 'Scottish Manuscript Miscellanies', p.56.

<sup>56</sup> David Stevenson, 'A Revolutionary Regime and the Press: the Scottish Covenanters and their Printers 1638-51', (p.317)

carefully copied to hurried scrawls, miscellany manuscripts provide the student with evidence of a deliberate reader, and sometimes, if we are lucky, evidence for the circulation and reception of texts. It can, however, be a danger to try to piece together too accurate a narrative from textual evidence only. The editor of any manuscript brings with them a preconceived framework for the text to fit; each reader, or student, situates the evidence they glean from the manuscript into their own learning trajectory. Focussing on the manuscript evidence relevant to the present discussion, the parameters of the following section are set around the literary content of the booklet containing 'The Pilgrime and Hermite', ff.101-148 of NLS Adv. 35.4.14 and the corresponding booklet in size (therefore presumed to originally have been bound together with it) ff.3-50, and sifts out a few texts of literary interest, using the manuscript as a guiding "critical barometer of literary tastes and fashions [which] like a microcosm [are] representative of a larger constellation of writing and book culture."<sup>57</sup>

The function of the Thoirs manuscript was not the same as poetry miscellanies such as the Bannatyne or Asloan manuscripts. Whereas the Bannatyne manuscript was a constructed literary anthology, William Thoirs used the folios that now form the booklets of the manuscript to record a wealth of translations, poetry, sums, records of legal cases, sketches of heraldry, etc. A modern equivalent to a commonplace book might be found in scrap books, diaries or even Facebook where news cuttings, poems, and social commentary are gathered by one individual and transformed into a

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<sup>57</sup> Sebastiaan Verweij, "Ten Sonnets from Scotland: Text, Context and Coterie Writing in Cambridge University Library, MS Kk.5.30' in *English Manuscript Studies 1100 - 1700* 16, eds. Peter Beal and A.S.G. Edwards, pp. 141 - 167 (p. 160).

collage of literary and pictorial interests which can be communicated to others. The emphasis is on collection, understanding and communication, of using text to identify and identify with text. Foucault describes this act of 'self-writing' as *hypomnemata* where commonplacing books are constituted not of private accounts to create a narrative of oneself but are rather:

a material record of things read, heard, or thought, thus offering them up as a kind of accumulated treasure for subsequent rereading and meditation [they also] formed a raw material for the drafting of more systematic treatises... the intent is not to pursue the unspeakable, nor to reveal the hidden, nor to say the unsaid, but on the contrary to capture the already-said, to collect what one has managed to hear or read...<sup>58</sup>

In the context of eighteenth-century culture, literacy was a widely recognised and ever-dependable touchstone of social differentiation: writing and reading are always historically and socially determinate events. And so, to read and to write, to be proficient with text, was a privilege whose presence or absence decisively distinguished one member of contemporary society from another. As practiced in Georgian England,

Commonplacing, as it had come to be understood by the early eighteenth century, was consequently ideally positioned to play

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<sup>58</sup>Michel Foucault, 'Self Writing' in *Dits et écrits IV*, trans. Graham Burchell, (London: Picador, 1983) pp. 415-430. (p. 422)

an integral part in modern culture... it was a physical artefact with a prodigious capacity for shaping literary preferences and intellectual habits: a bespoke compendium of knowledge where facts and figures, anecdotes, news, opinions, judgements, paradoxes, puzzles and, above all, evidence of human thought and feelings, could not only be contained and conserved but also anatomised and absorbed.<sup>59</sup>

The evidence of active reading and writing in the commonplace book proves it is an artefact imbued within the culture in which it was used. Thoirs is an active reader, regularly inserting marginalia with some commentary on the copied texts inserted into the margins and doodles of a wandering mind beside text, mostly Latin translations, and occasionally small one-line quips inscribed into the narrow margins of the folio:

f.108r:    25 octor The Life of Crispianns & Cripsine Hand  
Curo Invidram Honour & many [b]ritorys doe crowne . The  
name of Crispiais wt renoune Whilst new Conquerour doth  
prove . And dine at home a royal ladys love a gentle craft yt hath  
ye art . to steall into a ladys heart  
Heir yow may sie what youth & love cane doe The Croune  
stoups to the maker of a shoe [15 verses]  
[horizontal & inscribed along with the above]

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<sup>59</sup> David Allan, *Commonplace Books and Reading in Georgian England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). (p.32)

Reader remark qts writtne be the poet / a women & maids love  
men though few doe show it

The folio after 'The Pilgrime and Hermite,' f.14v, there is an explanation of markings which indicate he was recording what symbols he used to correct his copy:

Appendix of nots Wherin som things mistaikne (marked thus X)  
or not so clearlie exprest (marked +)

This self-conscious writing practice is also evidenced on ff.19r-21v where tables of writing and letter forms are introduced, followed by extensive examples of textual codes and explanations:

They 2 next tabls haw exampls of placeing the 4 Wowells by  
writing & learneing to Joyn the double consonants & letters & to  
joyne yor prepositions & terminations according to the  
alphabeticall rule.  
a dash from the end of the word stands for (z) also whon to  
abbreviat words by leaving out the superflous letters and when (e)  
must be omitted...

Fascinatingly on the folios after 'The Pilgrime and Hermite,' Thoires records a guide to his markings, which could logically be applied to the markings on



ff.108v-113r. I have been unable, as yet, to identify what text this was copied from.

f.114v [3<sup>rd</sup> down] Dilemma is sin or suffer If he had escaped he  
wold haw bein tempted weikns his sufferings rayr and  
encoragement yn stubleing block.

1710 Quam non Roma ferox quondam dominata somne  
gentes perdomint Scotia viela piet... [10 verses]

Appendix of nots Wherin som things mistaikne (marked  
thus X) or not so clearlie exprest (marked thus +) in

Mc:Ken3ies insertions They ar heir helped and explaind

And the Innovatons since his tyme in or lawis heir sett.

The 'Mc:Ken3ie' referred to here could possibly be the same George MacKenzie of Rosehaugh we find on f.333v<sup>60</sup> where Thoirs has copied from his book of Heraldry. There are a wealth of names, books and connections yet to come from the manuscript and further investigation into William Thoirs through his commonplace book would benefit seventeenth-century Scottish studies, philological, literary and historical. Already, there are indications of William Thoirs' politics, writing practice, and literary interests, demonstrating the amount of evidence for speculation which can be gleaned on first readings of the included texts.

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<sup>60</sup> See Appendix.

Turning to the literary works around 'The Pilgrime and Hermite', a summary of Philotus<sup>61</sup> is recorded on f.127r. This anonymous play has been accredited to the court of King James VI with reference to an Elizabethan prose text called 'Of Phylotus and Emelia' by Barnaby Riche which was assumed to be the source by the editor of Philotus in the 1930s, Anna J. Mill<sup>62</sup>. This has been questioned by R.D.S. Jack<sup>63</sup> and disputed by Jamie Reid-Baxter who takes into account the Latin and Italian influences from the 1530s, asserting that Riche's was not necessarily the source and it is more likely that Philotus originated at the court of James' mother, Mary, Queen of Scots<sup>64</sup>. Whether a product of the middle or late sixteenth century, the play certainly embodies the Renaissance penchant for rhetoric and experiment, elaborating the allegorical characters who frequented the medieval morality plays.

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<sup>61</sup> 127r 'Excellent Comedie in prose & old verses of old Philotus of 80 years wes extreamlie enamored of Emilia of 14 years daughter to Alberto & qn nether he nor the macreel or pandress yt he imployd nor yet her [quod] fathers extreamiest threats could prevaill with her to desert Flavius ane able man who sought her [flourish] THEN she puts Philerno her twine brother & putin in her cloths whom both her fayr & PH. mistaiking for her PH. maries him for her. Wherupon FLA. rekned her false or ane incarnal dewill & uses many conjurations agt her [flourish] And PH. comits his supposed wife to the custodie of his dawr Brissilla And philerno least he should hawe ben discovered beats & brawls philot9 extreamlie & hyrs a whore to lye with him. In end alls reconciled by albertos repenting the force nyr his deiir as he thought by Flavious seinis his mistaik he mares Emilia & Philerno: Brusilla & Philotus at death qo repented his fondness for Emilia of 14 years of age.' To be discussed in a future publication by Theo van Heijnsbergen.

<sup>62</sup> Jamie Reid-Baxter, 'Philotus: The Transmission of a Delectable Treatise', in *Literature, Letters and the Canonical in Early Modern Scotland*, ed. Theo van Heijnsbergen and Nicola Royan (Tuckwell Press, East Lothian, 2002) pp. 52 - 68 (p. 52).

<sup>63</sup> When discussing authorship Jack deduces that the play must have been written before the King's Reulis and Cautelis as it breaks the rule of rhymes on the same syllable: "...few poets after 1585 were brave enough to flout James's critical opinions to his face." When cross-referencing phraseology Jack notes similarities between the 'Castalian' poets and Philotus, however these could have been references to earlier texts from the court of Queen Mary, the period which Baxter puts forward. Baxter, 'Philotus,' (p. 52).

<sup>64</sup> This is founded on convincing evidence which includes linking Philotus first of all to the Latin play *Gl'Ingannati* which was a "pioneering text" (Baxter: 56) of the 1530s, then to the tradition of *commedia erudita* of the 1530s Italian court, the Queen's fondness of masks and the wealth of European comedy in her library. George Buchanan is also considered as a possible author. He was certainly practised in the educational play when he wrote *Jephta* in 1554. Baxter, 'Philotus' (p.60)

Folio 104r hosts 'a godlie Ballad to the tune of lillibulero. Or Bannockes of bear meall', set to the tune of Lilliburlero. The text doesn't correlate with known texts of this ballad and there is no authorship recorded in the manuscript. Lilliburlero was a march whose first appearance was in a collection published in London in 1661, titled 'An Antidote Against Melancholy' and which was popularised by the Protestants in the English Civil War. Directly after, on 101v-104r is a short selection copied out in the manuscript from the *Gesta Romanorum*, a thirteenth century collection of Latin narratives which were widely used as sources by Chaucer, Gower, Boccaccio, and others. After some biblical verse and meditations on 'drunknesse' and 'fornication' comes a summary of 'Gerardo the unfortunat spaniard', ff.106v-107r, a romance written by Gonzalo de Cespedes y Meneses in 1621.

The inclusion of these texts along with 'The Pilgrim and Hermite' evidences an early eighteenth century reader's interest in Older Scots texts. The poet, the scribe, and the printer had an avid awareness of the immediate audience for their text, and thus examining them can point towards the wider sociopolitical environment in which they created their work; but, specifically in Craig's composition, the evidence also demonstrates deliberate intertextualities which will have undeniably constructed the understanding of the works by their respective historical audiences. If it indeed was James Kennedy, the secretary to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Marquis of Huntly, George Gordon, who chose to preserve Craig's poem, this certainly situates the poem within a genre of amatory verse which renegotiated the traditional

role of the female characters and developing the role of a woman who determined her own destiny. Aligning with current research by Louise Hutcheson (PhD forthcoming), 'The Pilgrime and Hermite' articulates with a collection of post-Reformation Scottish romances, including Patrick Gordon's *Penardo and Laissa* (1615) and John Kennedie's *Calanthrop and Lucilla* (1626), which are being rewritten for a Protestant audience seeking to re-approach older texts and change the reader's relationship to them.

### Documenting Transmission

Writing is a technology which has been inextricably linked to authority and record since its conception. The earliest forms of writing were used to conceptualise and organise knowledge: counting and comparing quantities, observing physical objects, and naming objects, therefore relating objects to each other.<sup>65</sup> Literacy practices and reading cultures have, of course, emerged and evolved far beyond these initial functions which freed the mind from spheres dominated by subjectivity and myth, and supplied it with the foundations for rational and analytical thought; however, the point remains that "to speak of writing in the abstract... is a mistake. There are only specific systems of writing, each of which has its own specific effect within a particular social system."<sup>66</sup> By analysing each of the witnesses as an artefact of writing which testifies to the activity of reading, we see expressions of a culture which was literarily aware and experimenting with

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<sup>65</sup> Eric Havelock, *The Origins of Western Literacy: four lectures delivered at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education*, (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1974), p. 17.

<sup>66</sup> Havelock, p. 17.

the mediation of text through print and manuscript.

Recent academic debate on scholarly editing sees the argument fall into two distinct categories: critical and diplomatic. On one hand, the critical edition involves systematic, text-centric decisions with the objective of presenting a text which can be considered closest to the authorial conception; on the other, the diplomatic, or conservative, editor aims to present a deproblematised text which represents the textual information of the source on a clean page. The emphasis, put most succinctly by Lass, is “to know at all times exactly what we are doing”<sup>67</sup> and for what purpose we are doing it. Indeed, having two witnesses of ‘The Pilgrime and Hermite’<sup>68</sup>, dated the same year, in two different codices and having undergone different forms of publishing – printed and scribal – encourages self-aware editing which attempts to incorporate the hermeneutical contrast in material presentation. Editing the manuscript brings to light what Hobbs terms ‘corrupt’ features of the text which hold insights into scribal practice and transmission:

corrupt manuscripts may still repay careful study, even where more authoritative ones exist, because their variants may reveal

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<sup>67</sup> Roger Lass *English Phonology and Phonological Theory: Synchronic and Diachronic Studies*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976) (p.220).

<sup>68</sup> With two competing titles: ‘*The Pilgrime and Heremite, in forme of a dialogue*’ (print) vs. ‘The Pilgrime and Hermite’ (manuscript), I have chosen to use the latter as it does not influence the perception of genre in the title.

or support evidence of authorship, of revision and of the nature and reliability of their particular line of textual transmission.<sup>69</sup>

Referred to as 'corrupt,' manuscript texts often offer more social and textual information than their printed counterparts. By paralleling the witnesses of the text, we see both versions of the poem at once, with neither having superiority over the other.

Within the restraints of its codex and the contemporary typographical trends, the printed text carries with it visual instructions on how it is to be read and interpreted. The readerly instructions of the manuscript witness are much less codified and standardised, nevertheless, the scribe gives visual clues using textual emphases and layout. The texts together present much more information about each other than either could by itself. Constructing an edition with the objective of seeing the 'text' as more than the sum of its parts, this edition both answers the questions posed by the incomplete print, and provokes more questions about the transmission of the text. This style of editing rejects the abstract ideal of the authorially intended text, supplying instead all the available textual and visual information, as an interpretation of the text which does not favour either witness as truer to the text than the other. As Zumthor discusses, The performance of a poetic work thus finds the plenitude of its meaning in the relation which ties it to those preceding, and those to follow. In fact, its creative power results from the work's *mouvance*... Since Schlegel, the

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<sup>69</sup> Mary Hobbs, 'Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellanies and Their Value for Textual Editors' in *English manuscript studies 1100 - 1700 I* ed. Peter Beal and Jeremy Griffiths (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989) pp. 182-210. (p.183)

Romantic tradition has considered the written literary work in its oneness, as the end point of an evolutionary genesis. It could be maintained that such is equally the case with the oral work, but in its *multiplicity* revealed through the totality of performances... Viewed in this way, an "authentic" text does not exist.<sup>70</sup>

Deconstructing critical editorial methodology, the decision to represent the diplomatically edited manuscript text, print text and manuscript facsimile together maximises the textual data and presents it in an immediately discernable medium. Diplomatically editing the text puts the user, rather than the text, at the centre of the edition. The ideal authority of any one text is dismantled by the data provided. This type of editing documents all types of data and allows the processes of the text to be viewed and interpreted as part of the holistic communication of the text.

Current theories of textual editing and histories of the book can be seen to re-evaluate post-structuralist and deconstructionist theories which have marginalised the previously deified authorial intention. Working towards a holistic approach, book historians now argue for the parameters of textual production to be widened to include any agentive involvement: by the author, scribe, illuminator, compiler, printer, bookseller, bookowner, etc. Alongside studies into the physical production, socio-political, religious and

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<sup>70</sup> Paul Zumthor, 'The Impossible Closure of the Oral Text' in *Yale French Studies*, No. 67, Concepts of Closure (1984) pp. 25 - 42. p. 34 -5. Editor's note in the article provides a definition of *mouvance* from another of Zumthor's writings: "that character of a work which - to the extent that we can consider something to be a work before the era of the printed book - results from a quasi abstraction, insofar as those concrete texts which constitute the work's real existence present through the play of variants and reworkings something like a ceaseless vibration and a fundamental instability."

ideological factors are taken into consideration when assigning meaning and purpose to a literary text.

In documenting the processes which produced the witnesses of 'The Pilgrime and Heremite,' cultural materialists argue a convincing case for an encompassing analysis to ascertain, as far as possible, all the possible historical realisations of a text. Instead of working on the familial structure of stemmatics which creates a hierarchy of witnesses with the one thought closest to the author's original at the top, documentary editing creates a non-hierarchical horizontal network of analysis which interprets the information, but refrains from asserting a narrative which takes either witness as being the 'original' or indeed 'authentic' text. Particularly suited to 'The Pilgrime and Hermite', creating a documentary edition opens up this new resource, maximising its potential for further study.

## 2.10 Epilogue

Introducing a new resource to the study of Scottish literature, the textual evidence of this edition contributes and questions existing narratives of the canon. While writing this thesis, two articles were published which provide critical information and perspectives on this area of study, as well as specifically 'The Pilgrime and Hermite' itself. Michael Spiller's 'Found in the Forest: The Missing Leaves of Alexander Craig's *The Pilgrime and*



*Heremite*'<sup>71</sup> begins to unearth the intertextualities and sources which Craig intended to use. Future studies will benefit from the parallels which Spiller draws between English poets such as Painter and Dyer, and there could be a substantial study done of the stylistics present in 'The Pilgrime and Hermite,' alongside the rest of Craig's collection to resituate it in his oeuvre.

Building upon patterns of borrowing and allusions, Sebastiaan Verweij's survey and assessment<sup>72</sup> of the use of poulter's measure in Jacobean Scotland illuminates imitations of Sir Edward Dyer, something which is further confirmed by my transcription where on a line in the Hermit's Testament (V.89) it is circled DYER. Verweij's analysis identifies parallels in the use of poulter's measure, dier, and political commentary, concluding that "the fact that so many 'diers' were anthologised in manuscript – and also often clustered together, like sonnets in a series – indicates the form enjoyed considerable contemporary appeal."<sup>73</sup> Craig kept good company in one Scottish miscellany: James Murray of Tibbermuir CUL MS K.k.5.30 along with Troy Book, James Melville, Philip Sidney, Alexander Hume, Thomas Campion, etc.,<sup>74</sup> and it becomes obvious that he was playing with trends of the time, experimenting with the available poetic fashions. Any literary study of *The Pilgrime and Hermite*, considering both witnesses, would gain from paying attention to this mechanism for poetic

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<sup>71</sup> Michael Spiller, *Fresche Fontains: Studies in the Culture of Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*, eds. Janet Hadley Williams and J. Derrick McClure (Cambridge Scholars Publishing: Cambridge, 2013) pp. 377 - 394.

<sup>72</sup> Sebastiaan Verweij, 'Poulter's Measure, Sir Edward Dyer and the *Dier* in Jacobean Scotland', in *James VI and I, Literature and Scotland: Tides of Change 1567 -1625*, ed. David Parkinson (Louvain: Peeters, 2012) pp. 300 - 321.

<sup>73</sup> Verweij, 'Poulter's Measure.' (p. 301)

<sup>74</sup> Sebastiaan Verweij, 'Ten Sonnets from Scotland: Text, Context and Coterie Writing in Cambridge University Library, MS Kk.5.30 in *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700 Vol. 16* eds. Beal & Burrow. pp.141 - 167.

development and situate Craig's choices of style within the literary fashions of his contemporaries.

Lastly, the commonplace book itself should be contextualised within the miscellany manuscripts of early modern Scotland and England. In a survey of Scottish manuscript miscellanies from 1500-1700, Bawcutt writes that "several manuscripts are associated with the name of Melvill, and the north-east of Scotland ... David Melvill was apparently his brother, and a bookseller in Aberdeen... Melvill owned the Bassus part-book which is written in the same identical hand as Tolquhon Cantus, believed to be owned by Alexander Forbes Master of Tolquhon".<sup>75</sup> Mapping out the manuscripts, their texts and their owners and their evidenced circulation, will contribute to reconceptualisations of literacy and readership in early modern Scotland, by visualising a "network of literary and cultural exchange."<sup>76</sup>

### 3.1 Transcription Policy

The text presented is a semi-diplomatic edition of the version of *The Pilgrime and Heremite, in forme of a Dialogue*, attributed to Alexander Craig of Rosecraig, found in the commonplace book of William Thoirs of Muiresk. The purpose of the edition is threefold: to provide the text lost from a quire of the extant witness in print, to present the different treatments of the text between both print and manuscript witnesses, and to comment

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<sup>75</sup> Bawcutt, 'Scottish Miscellany Manuscripts' (p.52)

<sup>76</sup> Verweij, 'Ten Scottish Sonnets', p. 143.

upon the inclusion of this text in the commonplace miscellany. In transcribing the text, then, the emphasis is to communicate the text to a modern audience, using a systematic apparatus which best represents the reading experience of the manuscript in line with the contemporary hermeneutic. Rather than “a mere stopgap measure to accept easily this idea that this may well be all that editors can legitimately do,”<sup>77</sup> adopting a diplomatic editorial policy allows information to be conveyed which is appropriate to the needs of an investigative audience. As Zumthor describes, “the interpreter is often [her or]himself unaware of the modifications [they] bring to an object.”<sup>78</sup> Trying to be as editorially aware as possible, this section outlines how the textual information in the manuscript is represented in the transcription.

The materiality of the text, whether going from page to page or page to screen, is changed in the act of reproduction. Until the early 1990s, the literary operating system has been the codex, but now the world, and certainly the academic world, has adopted and adapted to the digital environment, changing from “monologue (monograph) to dialogue.”<sup>79</sup> With the option of the digital format now available to editors, McGann argues that we can now escape the “physical constraints of the traditional book format,”<sup>80</sup> and that the digital edition is now the ideal environment where everything but the spatial dimensions of a codex can be reproduced on

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<sup>77</sup> Christina von Nolcken, review of *Crux and Controversy in Middle English Textual Criticism* by A.J. Minnis, *Charlotte Brewer* in *Modern Philology* 92, No.3 (1995) pp. 4 - 42 (p. 8).

<sup>78</sup> Paul Zumthor, Jean McGarry (trans.) ‘The Impossible Closure of the Oral Text’ in *Yale French Studies* no. 67: Concepts of Closure (1984), pp. 25 – 42. (p. 35)

<sup>79</sup> Richard Lanham, ‘Implications of Electronic Information for the Sociology of Information’ in *Leonardo* Vol. 27, No. 2 (MIT Press, 1994) pp. 155 – 163. (p. 160).

<sup>80</sup> Jerome McGann, ‘The Rationale of Hypertext’ in *Radiant Textuality: Literature after the World Wide Web* (New York: Palgrave, 2001) pp. 53 – 74. (p. 67).

screen, however many versions, and information can be linked in non-linear ways using hypertext and dynamic digital features.

Arguing for the standard use of digital editions, McGann states:

“using books to study books constrains the analysis to the same conceptual level as the materials to be studied.”<sup>81</sup> However, in the case of ‘The Pilgrime and Hermite’, viewing the texts in parallel in codex form provides a comparison which arguably facilitates the interpretation of the texts in immutable form. Especially relevant to sources of historical evidence, using digital media can sometimes distance the reader from the artefact or document itself. The digital reading experience is relatively new, and the implications this has for the interpretation of historical documents and their relative usefulness, especially to the trained historian, is under some debate. The current project presents the information in book-form, but a future project could digitise the edition and exemplify the mediation of the screen.

As Hunter discusses, the aspiration of staying ‘faithful’ to the ‘original’ text in unfinished versions is “more complicated, in that these are frequently works in progress, incorporating within them signs of composition in the form of insertions and deletions, and also displaying the characteristic writing tricks to speed up composition”.<sup>82</sup> As this manuscript text is not a presentation piece or intended for publication, much of the data on the page originates from a desire for preservation of a reading. Where textual information can be gleaned from scribal emphases or errors, I have retained the information. Where, for example, flourishes are arbitrary or

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<sup>81</sup> McGann, p.82.

<sup>82</sup> Michael Hunter, ‘Presenting Texts (2) Manuscripts’ in *Editing Early Modern Texts* pp. 72-85 (p.73)

decorative, they have not been recorded.

Where Simpson argues a policy in which “blanks in the manuscript are represented by blanks in the transcript”,<sup>83</sup> two features of layout have been omitted from the transcription: the manuscript text is numbered by stanza and the page is used horizontally as well as vertically. It would be optimal to reproduce these features in the edition to convey the economical use of the page; however, attempting this within the limitations of the codex may detract from the text itself and, as the layout is functional rather than expressive, there is perhaps no purpose in transcribing a constraint of manuscript into the constraints of print. The general layout of the manuscript text has been adhered to in the transcription. The erratic positions of the verse numbers in the manuscript have been normalised in the transcription; however, the transcription retains the errors in numbering, ie. taking note of the lack of verse 46, and keeping the duplicated numbers in verses 44 and 109. This is also important data to note in contextualising the manuscript version: the erratic numbering and mismatch of the number of missing verses with what the print edition evidences the irregularities of the manuscripts it was copied from.

The spellings in the manuscript have been retained in the transcription in accordance with Simpson: “Spelling is given exactly as in the manuscript, and the original usage of *u* and *v*, *i* and *j* has been retained.”<sup>84</sup> I have also retained the doubling of consonants which seems (as yet) to have no consistency. Following Smith, I have retained the use of

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<sup>83</sup> Simpson, p.48.

<sup>84</sup> Simpson, p.48.

yogh and thus distinguish between its forms **ȝ** or **ȝ** for the “interest for philologists”.<sup>85</sup> Where majuscules occur, they have been retained – at the beginning of lines, by convention, and where used to emphasise a complete word.

In accordance with Smith’s practice,<sup>86</sup> I have used italics rather than brackets to indicate contraction by superscript. Though abbreviations do not occur frequently enough to add significant ‘noise’ to the page, avoiding the use of brackets is also necessary for disambiguation of the editor’s hand and that of the scribe. In (at least) two places the scribe has bracketed a single word within a line. The parenthesis is transcribed with the punctuation present in the manuscript and the editorial use of the round bracket is eliminated to avoid confusion. Looking to the manuscript evidence as a guide for the spelling of abbreviated words, the expansions are thus

y<sup>e</sup> = ye; yn = yen; yt = yat; yr = yair.

qn = *quhen*; qr = *quhair*; qch = *quhich*; qt = *quhat*; qm = *quham*

wt = *with*

or/ oyr = *our/oyer*

Corrections and interlineations to the manuscript text are retained. Where the additions have been made in the new ink, for example an insertion, it is shown \**thus**/. To aid reading and study of the new ink, the insertions,

<sup>85</sup> Jeremy Smith, ‘Editorial Principles’ in *Older Scots: A Linguistic Reader* (Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh, 2012) pp. 71-75 (p.71).

<sup>86</sup> Smith, p.71.

deletions and corrections are isolated in section 2.6, above. Where words have been circled, this is shown in the transcription.

The inherent punctuation is retained in the transcription, including any ambiguities that could be pen rests. Where the scribe has written the ten-line stanza over 8 lines, he regularly (but not always) uses a series of colons to mark the line divisions. I have interpreted this use as functional, rather than rhetorical, and therefore I have normalised the punctuation to one colon only. An alternative would have been to normalise the line divisions, however, in the case of possible dittography, it has been useful to retain the scribe's contracted stanza.

In three verses, there is a repetition of one of the four last lines which could either indicate an instance of dittography or an imitation of musical refrain. Here, I quote the final lines of each wheel for context:

V1:     Tuixt the dark & ye day all alon as I lay  
           all alon as I lay  
           in the mide month of may  
           this fell fray I found

V3:     and quhen I deemd by the dine  
           some worlds wight wes yairin  
           to wax bold I begine and no perril spard  
           and no perrill spard

V25: Ffor whyls greive I greitt: whyls Murne till we meit  
 (some tymes my poor sprit. dyes drownd in Dispayr  
 dyes drownd in

Here, the rhyme scheme is complete without the repeated line which indicates that it was either a scribal error of dittography, or that the manuscript from which Kennedy copied the text was equally, if not more, difficult to navigate and so the scribe experimented with repetitions before ending the verses.

The agenda of this transcription is to provide layers of information in a transparent manner so that the reader of this edition can navigate the text from the extra-textual information. This method does not presuppose an original or authorial conception of the text, but presents the text as it is found in both manuscript and print, providing material evidence for the reading habits of its changing audience. The author of the poem, Alexander Craig, is somewhat marginalised by his own text. The poem was printed posthumously and the manuscript version records a copy of that posthumous print in a hand which wrote almost 100 years after his death. In offering both witnesses together, this edition does not work towards or within the parameters of a critical ideal; this edition does not seek to be a witness to the text, but an active agent in facilitating the reading of the text.



II Manuscript Transcription: NLS Adv.35.4.14 ff.108v -113r

[f.108v]

The pilgrime and Hermite Composed be the learned \& famous poet/ Mr Alexander  
 Craige of Rosecraige \·K· James 6 poet/ Banffa Brittanie first copied out of his  
 Manuscripts \in edinburgh/ the penult day of February 1631 at Edinb~~urgh~~ by Mr Iames  
 Kennedy agent 1631

1. When pale lady Luna *with* her lent light  
 throw dawning of ye drigh day wes drivn to depart  
*quhen* Christell and clear skys compasd ye night  
 as may morneing reid rose from ye right art  
 Er phaeton the fond fool *with* whyt whipe in hand  
 from his slight sleepe ascended to loup *our* ye land

Tuixt the dark & ye day all alon as I lay  
 all alon as I lay  
 in the mide month of may  
 this fell fray I found

2. apperled as a pilgrime *with* pyikstaffe in hand  
 furth the wyld way I went & wandred but guyd  
 me thought in a lauk lay a strek stream a strande  
 a bread bush of birck beughs by a bruik syde  
 and hopeing some Hermite *yair* had his repair  
 as fast as my feet might I still \forward/ followd fair

and *with* a wish as I thought  
 to the bush **I** wes brought  
*quhich* natur hed weall wrought  
 and scorned arts laire

3. Throw ze wood as I wend halfe will of weme

to a cell my sharpe sight did shortly appear

Coy quiet cold caue a Cabine of stone

I drew darne to the door some dinne to hear

I leand too my left lug and thus lay I heard

Long long doe I loathed live in love but reward

and *quhen* I deemd by the dine

some worlds wight wes *yairin*

to wax bold I begine and no perrill spard

and no perrill spard

4. and onfrayd as I feir throu the cold cawe

I weil not in the noock quence the noise sounded

a horsk hoari Hermite Grim Grivd & Graue

in whos boyling breast nought but black be all abunded

Whos Coy colourd countenance & heaw horie Hew

his hide harms and sade seit his sight might forshew

The tears in a trembleing trace

lyk floods flowd or his face

*with* many loude long alas

and sade sighs enew

5. With stout stepps he start up & stard in my face

& crievd how I *yair* came *quhat* Groom wes my guid

by fortune *Quod* thy freind this forme fell the caice

by the wild way I went & wandred asyde

and by the will of the Weirds I wan to this Wood

and hope height me *yat* heir some hermit hes hide

thus hope hath me heir brought but if I offend ought  
by the blisid blood wes bought I obey as ye bide

6. a pilgrime thou appears weal by thy worne weid  
a stranger astrayd farr in the shaw sheine  
but since thou art heir hapt so god me **speid**  
thou art welcome to such as thou hast heir sein  
yet true I my treatment must move the to tyre  
for meat drink haiv I non good bed or fyre  
on rawe roots is my food  
I drink of the fresh floode  
on ground & green grass good  
all night lyes my lyre

#### PILGRIME

7. Then haild I the hermite *with* yar words anew  
and for his frank favour **I** full thanks I gave  
yea *quhen* I weil tryd *yat* his talk wes all true  
the cause of his comeing *yair* in Court wries I creaw  
HERM: The cause of my comein heir kind freind *quod* hie  
( & *with yat* the salt floods fell flate in his eye)  
wes the Coy cold disdaine  
of her for *quhos* saik slaine  
as man mad I remaine  
by fats fond decree

#### PILGRIME

8. In faith freind *quod* I *yen* I saw by thy song

*quhen* cold by thy cawe door as stranger I stood  
 some *saint* of the she sex hade wrought all thy wrong  
 & thow in loue long live & yet wes onliud  
 and of thy long letter this last lyne I heard  
 long long doe I loathed live in loue but reward  
     by *quhich* words I weall knew  
     yat thy dame wes untrue  
     and thy pale heaw hew  
     furth shaws thou art snard

#### EROPHILUS

9. Hey ho *quod* ye hermite I live once to loue  
 but now drownd in dispair I sie my death drest  
 Though both witt & will wold I may not remove  
 I lye in the huks of loue fettered so fast  
 My seldome found small sweets ar so mixt *with* \(\sours/  
 yat each moment er seim, a Miriad of howers  
     and thus live I alone  
     in this cold cave of stone  
     as next nightbour to none  
     but feilds fouls & flours

[f.109r]

10. Thus darne in my dark den I determ to remaine  
 as a **\bound/** beadman unto her *yat* works all my woe  
 Till deaff death *with* darff dart put poynt to my paine  
 Else CLOTHO *with* kniffe cutt ye tui3 threed in tuoe  
 and on ye green growing bark of each blooming tree

this ditto indorsd **yair** shall weall writtne be  
 in sorrow & syte slaine for her heir I remaine  
*quhen* strays for a strange swane & Compts nought of me

Æubulus

11. Thy passions poor Hermite dispaired wold appear  
 & thy heart hye hoisd abowe thy degree  
 Since all thy fond foolish hops ar frazen *with* fear  
 & fortune thy first freind is framd foe to the  
 For she quhen thou still scherves as thy self says  
 Thy seils her seyt thy dole her delyte  
 & *with* thy paine for despyte *with* proud poynts she plays  
 both reasonless & ruthless respectes ye na ways

12. And so it weall seems *yair* leal loue is lost  
 & first to the green graue thoul goe er thou gett her  
 Most mad man why lows thou thy liffs foe th**y** host  
 thy dye not a fond fool for gods saik forgett her  
 For putt caice in hope to deseive thy desyrs  
 thou wrack heir for plaine want of bed food & fyrs  
*quhat* soul shall be yen sein to luik up thy dead Eyne

13. Dishaut yen thy hermitag & thy cold cawe  
 & live no more in love since thou art unloud  
 but follow me & taik part of such as I haue  
 for Company & counsell may doe the great good  
 Hade not DON DIEGO dyd in desert  
 wert not RODERICO his woes did avert

and thus may it fall so *yat* from **his** grou & er I goe  
 I find ease to thy goe & heall thy hurt hearte

#### EROPHILUS

14. Speack pilgrim *quod* he *yen* of things *yat* may be  
 or *yat* have a firme hope to fraime full effect  
 for such is my faint force I want feet to flie  
 the blind & the bade boy hath Gune such a Check  
 yea tuixt my will & my Witt *yair* byds such debat  
 ye an *with* ye *oyir* still in strong stryffe for state  
 Flie lowe quoth my will. Stay **\still/** saith my will yett  
 So I byd so I flitte. So I hope so I hate

15. But *quair* thou wold seime so to salwe all my sair[strike e]  
 & by thy stick statuts to stay all my sturt  
 Goe medle *with* *yat* matter mad miser no more  
 Since all my health hangs still on her *yat* me hurt  
 Since to the vou I am brunt *yat* Coal shall I blowe  
 Yet liwer & lights **\both/** did light in this love  
 And if my dame doth decree *yat* I dye ; **\let/** so be  
 I long fore till I sie *yat* death bend his bow

#### Æubulus

16. O vaine wretch *quod* I then devest thy wowd weid  
 & Wander no more thus in the woods wyd & wyld  
 for putt caice thy sweet *saint* Thy dear Dame be deade  
 by *quom* day by day damd thou dys thus exyld  
 Because it may fall furth befor thou her sie  
 by will of the Weirds she on beir brought may be

or deem *yat* thy dame dear  
 for change ay maik glad chear  
 hath now found a new feir  
 & so loaths of the

17. Or by a quyt contrair caice kind Erophil suppon  
 thy mistrs thus moment hath much mynd of the  
 & for thy long absence she macks mirthless moane  
 & *with* hir heart wishes her leall love to sie  
 and *with* her self says so wold God I wist *quhair*  
 my poor pynd patient now maiks his repaire  
 for wist I weall (so I thrive) *yat* my love wer alive  
 with all my streanth would I strive  
 to question his quynt caire

18. poor Hermite suppon *yen* & ponder I pray  
*yat* if thy dear dame be dead thou weeps all in vaine  
 thou art a stark stock heir still thais to stay  
 to faint for a fond fool *yat* feels no thy paine  
 or if she rivall respects more *yan* the  
*quhat* \grace/ gaine can thou heir gaine in dole still to dye  
 er if she thinks tryd truth should reap revard of her Ruth  
 why slips thou in such slooth the thing *yat* may be

[separating line]

19. my sure freind *quod* he *yen* as thou says I sie  
 of these tuo extreams strange the on must be trew  
 she loaths or she lovs me a midst may not be

as to my pains I may prove by stire signs anew  
 For loe my belovd love my dear dainte dame  
 despights the small elements yat spell my poore name  
 Thou ay we if I mint to force floods from the flint  
 my true trauell wer tint such freindshipe to frame

20. But whilst thou would seim say yat death drierie death  
 perhaps hath avenged quyt my dear dams days  
 to look for a long liff yat I must be laith  
*quhom* each froward froune else of fortune afrays  
 and since on liff for her love I have tein such paine  
 I caire not a cuitt for her saik love slaine

I shall not seime to shrinke  
 of death; for her death to drinke  
*quho* sweet eyes with a winke  
 might releive \**revive**/ me again

[f. 109v]

21. Lett this yen appease ye good pilgrim I pray  
 yat no presence absente nor distance of place  
 no froune of fraud fortune no tyme no delay  
 no bade chance no new change no no *contraircaice*  
 no not all the proud spyte proud faitts cane spitt  
 may maik my firme fixd faith & fancie to flitt  
 yea lett her flea lett her flow lett her doe *quhat* she dow  
 to garr my greiff grein griw I shall be trew zitt

22. Good Hermite for truth told I hawe oft hard



the leid leilest in lou shall come Leist speed  
 and he yat deserts weall to reap **Leist** reward  
 for firme faith & freindshipe shall find fraud & feid  
 tack tent to the tails told of true Troil knaght  
 a Greek rivall arived & reft all his right  
 in acoord all thy gaine thy intent to attaine  
 Is short pleasur long pause & Dole day & night

23. But sin[ce] thou delyts thus to live full in loue

advyse the on this be never to **O** trew  
**O<sup>x</sup>** and though thou both say & swear thy mynd shall not move  
 yet prentese to PROTEUS exchange ay thy hew  
 Since great IOVE exchanged shape in a shower in a fyre  
 In a bull in a swane to attaine his desyre  
 For the yat lows lightest be sure shall speed soonest  
 and he yat swrvs all the best shall oft want his hyre

24. If good freind) thou looks, *quhen* in loue to come speed

yen flitt from thy fixd faith be fals & untrue  
 For er thou fynd full effert so farr as I read  
*yair* must be sound sympathie betuix her & zou  
*Quhen* crew I how cane *yair* a kind Concord be  
 If thou trew & she be deceitfull & slie (strange  
 (she lykes best of new yonge. if she's stray be thou  
 thy cairis if thou weil cheinge be as false as the

EROPHILUS

25. I grant to my great greiffe I weil spy the right  
 & yet wrong *with* worse woe the wrong way I fraime

I know alas yat na love my love bein long light  
 & were I wise (weall \witt yow/ yow wott) I wold doe the same  
 But faith bynd remembrance procures more my cair  
 Nor oure presence \pearce/ procured and *quhen* I wes placed *yair*  
 For whyls grieve I greitt · whyls Murne till we meit  
 (some tymes my poor sprit. dyes drownd in Dispayr  
 dyes drownd in

26. and whyls in a rude rage I reikne *with* my (selfe  
 & in the darn daily dream to *condenme* my desire  
 halfe dead in deserts *heire* why should I duell  
 & wraik thus for plaine want of food bed & fyre  
 why perishes my yeoths pryme to strang perrells pro\ŕ/ud  
 or why murne I for *quho* means not my ~~meane~~ **good**  
 And *quhen* at last I *conclud*. To burn the habit & the hood  
 I dare not alace do it Till \my/ wows tyme be gone

27. O wearied be yat vaine vow yat ever it wes made  
 & cursed let the coy cause of my cold paine  
 O fey be the false faits yat bears me at feid  
 & blamed be the blind boy yat breeds all my baine  
 Unblest be the bade houer the first tyme and place  
 I fettered my fond fancie ~~be~~ **to** her fair face  
 and voe to my waine will  
 yat quyle foyeld me of skill  
 and led me Captive untill  
 yat wench voyde of grace

**Ruth. mend in sorcplurs Ruths love *with* gods leaw**

28. Unsaid be yat wance wood yat **Wench** woyd of grace

*quhat* yat but her good graces grivs me so much

for weil I waitt may I wow if pittie had place

of all yat on muild movs *yair* were non such

The tym *quhen* yat spurry post shall be in pray spent

X yat Ruthes love *with* the ~~(love)~~ be to my love lent

& Cupid I \b**raw**/ call the. Thou fears tho thou may not sie

Hawe pitie on poor me. And grant my intent

29. Wise valur(as writts weil \the old clark/Empedocles

bestow of good hermite her gifts heir &[smudge]*yair*

As it best lyketh her & the **C**ost lott alace

Each salue to thy fair fool for small is her share

Hir God is thy nymph hath none gott no more

sauē bewte; no bountie & voe is me *yair*for

of pitie since no part

is hid in her fair heart

yen lett not be black dart

of dole the devoure

30. O greive not the good goes *with* thy vaine suit

for *quhat* they have once don they will not undoe

but lyk as atrime tree yat setts furth no fruit

though seitill of braw blooms & fair flourish tooe

oft gladneth be gardner *with* hope of great gain

yet reaps he in harvest no pay for his pain

right so *sir* her fair face. Will judge heights of great (grace

with tint travel alace. But fruit makes ye faine

31. yen suit swrve pray praise & doe *quhat* zow cane

and in true tyme I fortell thy labour is lost

by the great gripping greif thou feils now & *yen*

to dress up thy in owne death thou spwors but ye post

Though for her saik each surge of syth ye assails

thy tryd truth & leil love but lyk nought avails

though thou beat ye bush weall

though framd for *without* faill

pulls ye prey be the taill

& proudlie prevails

[missing from print]\_\_\_\_\_

## 32. Erophilus

Thou somtyme paid short since if ryt I think on

thy Company & counsell might stand me in sted

but now thy presence bade & plott I suppone

by duits of dispaire is to ~~drive~~X \Xdroune/ me in dreade

Allwist be *yat* Counsell & so *yat* Command

*yat* leaws me in worse caice *yen* first it me fand

Now I frett now I fume

Now in caire I consume

for my death by thy doome

Is hard at the hand

[f.110v]

33. But whilst I live myne alon in my cold cave  
 no framis of false fortune nor in no fraud at all  
 nor cair could my quiet *content* mynd conceive  
 for as my ioys wer but few my griffs wer but finall  
 And though I live myne alon both laite & aire  
 yet stoutly *withstood* I the duits of dispare  
 yea no cair could me kill. Nor hurt doe my heart ill  
 For na wight of his will. had halfe such a share

34. For whyls it revived me to note the nyce noise  
*quhich* billows of the braue broockes on green bankes gaue  
 through the sweet sound *yairof* my heart did rejoyce  
*quhen* cliffs of the cold clenghs ye cold streams cleare  
 somtymes I attend to the sweet warbleing nots  
*quhich* birds on y braue beughs did thirle thringe *yair* throats  
 whyls the bussing of the bees : Though the tops of tail trees  
 wald my hurt heart heit : as they fell ~~xx~~ furth in flits

35. And whyls would the whirle wind *quhich* through ye woods wend  
 with sweit prettie plaints pearce & please my dull ears  
 & whyls besyd I beheld the beasts of each kind  
 furth through the Felß flock following *yair* feirs  
 To slay \my/ hunger startd stomaik whyls would I eite  
 of the fair fresh fruit *quhich* fell at my feitte  
 and whyls in my sueit songs : Wold I writt all ye wrongs  
 yat ere zitt wer amongs : Sad me & my Sweite

36. And thus as I else told the past tyme I spent

til thou came the helper of all my old harme  
 I would god we hade *with* as zitt bein Aaquant  
 I rew yat in rash forme I rapt out my arme  
 In such freindlie fashion to Welcome my foe  
 the hie host of my health o why did I so  
 but since I too late rew : I intreat thou be trew  
 and so dear freind adiew I taik my leaw loe

Eubulus

37. Na seik man but shrinkes sare to sie himself pausd  
 & er he come to his health hold his hurt sore  
 X poor patient suppose yen thou loupe to be Panst  
 I count it na new thing for flie I *yair* force  
 but sins thou perceivs weil I would sie ye sound  
 as weil willd to rivet the auld working wound  
 O yen please not I pray : To start thus but still stray  
 Leist if my will be away : Such freinds be not found

38. And seik sueit freind I say *consider with* thyselwe  
 thou haunts heir stays still in staggering estate  
 behold how yat blind god yat false little Elfe  
 thy black death deviseth befor the due date  
 Thou looks yat *with* leall love thy love shall repay the  
 though be a quyte contrar caice she shaps still to slay the  
 And if thowl but advert : To ye greiffe of my heart  
 I shall prove the expert : befor I goe fra the

39. I once fell (my fant freind the frengeie of love  
 & sometime I schervd sure a sueit seimly *saint*.

as matchless a myld maid as might on Mould move  
 the worthiest on World wyd I may weil Waunt  
 and zitt she wes in love light & lyk ye feind false  
 her court kisse & quent claps wer mixt *with* sour salse  
 many way many wyle : shope she to ouresyle  
 & grew glade to beguyle : and hold me in halfe X

40. Though in ye pryd of my pomp wes non proud as I  
 for why she wes my love & I hers againe  
 & this till ye false weirds my wealth did envye  
 I kept court *with* the clear as next unto nane  
 but faith in a short space my false facile dame  
 did find furth a new freind *quhen* I foot fra hame  
 I serve still & ay suite : And ner finds any fruit  
 I reape baill but no bait : my rights to reclaime

41. I byte bold at the bait and hails the hooke bair  
 Syne to my staith swallowd up ye sour sweets of love  
*quhich* all I to compt call it makes my heart saire  
 yat I wes ye most made man yat might on Muild move  
 and *quho* wold have painted ye picture of caire  
 might look on my pale face & line a patron *yair*  
 gods knows I wes crost : *quhen* my love wes my host  
 & my rival runneing post : my ryts to Impare

42. Then poor freind I pray ye give ear to my speech  
 be counßld be me now & use my advyce  
 & I lay my lif doune if I be thy leech  
 in dispight of thy dame to turne once the dyce

I know a Colliuiy ~~to~~ \cane/ cure all thy caire  
 a raire sweet receipt a drogg for despair  
 and if our mynds be to mell  
 I shall maike thyself tell  
 yat thy pains shal \the/ prepell  
 and shaike louse the snaire

## Erophilus

43. The good gods of great grace Grant some releiffe  
 yrs yrs Some saw for each sore saue blind Love alone  
 but *quhen* the mynd is dismayd by yat mad mischeiffe  
 I oft hawe in wise writts & fond fabls found  
 how ye great gods aboue bein to yat boy bound  
 & ORPHEUS can \weall/ tell : yat prince PLUTO himsell  
 heth proserpin in hell : & ye\er/ Queen her crowned

44. Lett non Meine to mock *yen* the blind boy our god  
 & *quhat* he deems ta be don tell no might *withstand*  
 In hell heavn earth seas **hy ris** bolts burns abroad  
 o *yen quhat* a Madness in me wer to meine  
 to lead love by a law *quhich* law ays bene  
 Experience doth plainly prove : yat in law leads love  
 but Im burnd from above : his shafts are so keine

44. And pilgrime I now pray preach no more in vaine  
 for had thou power to perswad as doctor \orator/ of Rome  
 or sage senior Cicero himself yat wes slaine  
 thy tyme toyle and trawell thou shall but *consume*  
 For I he seall *quhat* I say *with* my best bloode



the bleed of my hurt heart if *yat* may doe good  
 and ere I faill in a whitte  
*yat* I said to my sweite  
 the fish shall in the feilds fleitte  
*with* out finne **or** floode

45 [no text]

[no 46]

47. [damage]ce hermit *quod* I quhen thy heart is obdure  
 & *yat* my trew trawell but is no way respected  
 thou works for thyn owne wrack thou cannot be cured  
 thou art *with* the leprocie of love so infected  
 and since thus thy fond will *our* waills all thy witt  
*yat* no rule of reason ' can fo\./rce the to flitt  
 Ive told now & *yen* : The best counsell ~~yt~~ I cane  
 yet thou lyke a mad man : Endures deaffe zitt

48. This on thing doth zittrest amongst all the rest  
 for as I would thou we weall I wish ze to writt  
 My limbs & my leggs both I lenne *quod* they lefte  
 & I shall thy bill bear & response repect  
 And *with yat* me *yen* thought the hermit satt doune  
 & on a banke of a brooke to a book made him bound  
 for in the cave as I think : heid paper pen & ink  
 & on the brow of the bruik : I fell to sleipe sound

49. But tyme whill our eys sleipt so she slyde away  
 as non will deserue weall the past tyme he spent

I lift up my lockt lids & looked *quair* I lay  
 Syne saw *yat* the hermite obeyd my intent  
*yen* came he to me ward *with* face full of sorrow  
 good pilgrime *quod* he *yen* & *saint* John tobirrow  
 Thy pilgrime promise to me plight : ye Gods grant thou rule ryd  
 from the day to the night: And \fra/ night to morrow

50. The great & the good \god/ grant grace thou may speed  
 the fats find a franke foot fra thou furth faire  
*yat* once I may news find of favour or feid  
 by word or hir hand writt I wish for na maire  
 Thus *our* we tuaine of farewealls \judge/ miriads wer taine  
 And our parteing in posthaist procurd so his paine  
 ye warme tears coats cheekes : He na words-~~of~~ \for/ wae speiks  
 bat ta be briffe he bes[]eiks : to haist me againe

51. Quhen May had *with* most mirth marked ye mould  
 And flowres on the fair feilds wer fynly *ouresprade*  
 [smudge]all the hewes under heavne sueit to behold  
 ye comelie Q. CLORIS so courtlie wes clade  
 The danke dew lyke diamonds in each pleasant place  
 the brawe bloomeing branches & beughs did imbrace  
 \To/And sad Echo sh~~all~~ sing : The moist mountains ~~amange~~ \in spring/  
 till the rock riches ring : to plead for hir peace

52. Brawe birds on *yair* beughs blyth *with* many a nyce nots  
 but soon frayd at my face they flow throw ye air  
 to hear those the sweet songs *yat* flew through *yair* throats  
 it made me amazd much to stay still & stare

but *quhen* I call to my mynd my long wearie way  
 berefte of all rest *yan* I maik no delay  
 but to *confirme* my *command* : *With* my help in my hand  
 I loup light throw *ye* land · *Without* stope or stay

53. The back of my bill boore *quhat* bounes sauld bonne  
 & *quhair* my *Saint* : I should sie I weall know my sell  
 Er few days wer doune I drew near to the tounne  
*quhair* the darne hermits on Dear Dame did dwell  
 And shortlie I shew her the sweet sheit wes send  
 from her old leall Love *quhom* she weall keand  
 And as I thought *with* glad will : She braik up ye breif bill  
 I took trew tent *yairtill* : And thus wes it pend

### Erophilus letter to Poliphila

54. Most blissed paper if thon kisse *yat* hand  
 or of *yat* hand and happie tuch recieve  
 to *quhos* most blissd direction & Command  
 all blissedness submitts at self a slawe  
 most blissed paper of so blist thou be  
 To preach her hand for *quhom* I dwyne & dye

55. doe not (alace) disdaine or thinke it scorne  
 to bear *with* the this message full of wae  
 sent from a wretch dispaireing & forlorne  
 to *quhom* the fats & fortune is a fae  
 Nor be affrayd befor her face to *appear*  
*quhillst* thou my name & title base doest bear

56. No sooner shall *yat* hand (o hand divine)  
 tuch and unfold thy blacke oblinded seall  
 but by *yat* tuch thy murneing inke shall shyne  
 & thou to heigh preferment mayst appeall  
 Playnts boldlie-~~th~~(ry Inke murne & show thy love  
 & Ink shall shyne & plaints plaine Musick prove

57. Say *yen* a Wretch how base soeber he be  
 far love of her haists headlong to his graue  
 & he in *quhom* she livs of force must diee  
 no hope nor helpe cane he (alas perceive  
 he playns & zett Complains not of his fall  
 he hath much harme & zitt no wrang at all

58. He dyes alace because his senses show X  
 in wofull words *yat*-~~hie~~ \such/ is her content  
 Since so she will of force it must be so  
*yair* is no force the saikles must be shent  
 My love my liffe & all must be *ourethrowne*  
 by her *quhen* once we wowd & sworne myne ovne

59. Sworne by the bolts & vow *quhich* blind Love bears  
 (no fleud or oath) non wes her Love but I  
*quhich* she confirmd *with* kisses sighs and tears  
*quhich* spent *with* her *with* me shall never dry  
 I cannot boast *yat* I cane challenge more  
 but shes unkind & woe is me *yairfore*

60. oft hawe I told her how I greive and pyne  
 but Eccho lyk she greiffe and pyne replyes  
 I sie no doome but dye dispair & dwyne  
 no confort coms to my dispair & cryes  
 but now my voyce is hoarse & I will still  
 hencefurth conceall hur wrongs & hyd myn ill

61. Cease yen poore breathing of my liffs unrest  
 to fash her ears *with* plaints my heart *with* paine  
 Since I have showd my faith my worst my best  
 & zitt she hears not bot I pray in vaine  
 And since my wound by opneing will not heall  
*quhat* once I shew I hencefurth will conceall

62. The heavie chear & passions of my heart  
 my crossing cares my caice is comfortless  
 thow meinst not once so merciles thou art  
 nor stwrpd on foote to ease me in distress  
 but thou shall sie *quhen* sorrow hath me slaine  
~~thy~~ yat lairge repentance shall inlairge thy paine

63. Hop hath no happe but waxins daylie old  
 doth chang his shape & turne to black dispaire  
 & now becommeth hoarie steall and cold  
 for still thou franes & thinkes franris maikes ye faire  
*with* weirding fron shey wes rust waisteth treasure  
 on earth (sawe Love) *yair* is no other pleasure

64. Thus dare I say no 'man hath beine more just

nor serwed his mistres *with* more due reguard  
 bot *quhen* misled evne by thyne owne mistrust  
 denys thy serwed his deservd reward  
 This maks my strange misfortune more & more  
 3itt will I suffer though I dye *yairfore*

65. dye, die poorheart & bide delyte adieu  
 death is ye last death is the best remeid  
 Came [t]hou lyke thy *saint* : doth change her hew  
*quhich* maks the bieast *quhair* ~~thou~~ *\she/* aboad to bleid  
 die yen poor heart & satisfie her wreath  
 end both thy dole & hir disdaine by death

66. Thy liffe is nothing but a tragick sheane  
*quhos* entrance pleaseth but the end is fade  
 The promises *quhich* some tyme movd thy flame  
 ye kisses wows & oaths *quhich* made the glade  
 are quyte forgott & she is *\tryd/* turnd untrew  
 die yen poor heart and bide *\ye world/* delyt adieu

67. I dwell in daill besyd the bruttish beaste  
 in vallies ~~ways~~ *\unto/* amidst the woods & trees  
 The rocks my bed of fowls & heres my feast  
 in solitude I sigh *quhair* no man sies  
 alon I live *quhos* lyke wes never 3itt  
 the rage of Love hath so be writith my writt

68. In this sad cell *quhich* shrewes me from the shewrs  
 from scorche my heate & from the ruthless raine

I kept a cloake to tell the tedious howers  
 a lute the sole companion of my paine  
 a book or two *with* paper pen & ink  
 a bead mans skull the dish *quhairin* I drink

69. and thus my life I fear is now near spent  
 my days I wott no longer ~~eane~~ \dow/ endure  
 for want of food I find my forge wax faint  
 my salweness sores ar such *yat* I am sure  
 Least thou with speed thy answer send againe  
 death shall avenge thy wrath & end my paine

70. Nought resteth *yen* O fair & Cruel dame  
 but *yat* yow have ane equall just regard  
 first to my faith & next unto thy fame  
 (god grant ye grace) *quhich* thou hes long deserd  
 witch else to writt thy answer good or illj  
 since both my liffe & death ar in thy will

71. Love leawths my life but blacke dispair brings death  
*yen* of thou lyk thy loves liffe should last  
 Grant love for love avert thy wonted wrath  
 I freelie heir forgive th[] offences past  
 thus wait myn till thy answer me retrieve  
 I kiss thy hand & kindlie taik my Leive  
 thus ends his letter

72. And so *quhen* *yat* suiet *saint* : had looked or ye Letter  
 with bash baisd brawe blush & many a trew teare

*quhich* as it seemd to myselfe so weall they did besett her  
 and sheyne lyk ye read rose mongst lillies faire  
 for evn lyke the proud god *quhich* pithon slene  
*quhen* in a green laurell tree his dear Daphne grew  
 she still in on stand stoode  
 & speacks me *yair* bade nor good  
 but I height \by/ my hoode  
 shes changed many a heiwe

73. *Quhat* mistres (*quod* I *yen*) hath made yow thus to muse  
 or *atr* yow no yet at the noise of these my \nyce/ newes  
 for evn as a man drivn in a dump he does  
 with sade sorrie silence yow change many hewes  
 The meswenger or message hath moved so yor mynd  
 yat (speach spoyld) yow pause still & sigh sob & synd  
 ffor Christs \saik/ if you caire : have pittie on your poor man  
 & Lett me know *quhair* or *quhen* : yow conlcude to be kynd

74. Sir Telephus ye \trojan/ tyriane as trew stories tell  
 wes hurt by achilles ye kein Greekish knight  
 The wound waxed worse still till yat syre himsell  
 yat wrought ye woe by ye wound reward it as height\by Dight/

---

So be yor sueit seimly selfe I prease now to speack  
*quhen* by the boy bad blind I boldlie beseeke  
 Lett old love have no force : bot \on/you man have remorse  
 Least \each/ yow & him divorce : he beinge saire seike

75. Or if the poore mans plaint hath pearsd through yor ears  
 if Love any lordship doth in yor breast broock



have pittie on his passions & trew tragick tears  
*quhen* libertie and liffe both hath lost *with a \yor/* looke  
 Love blows still the old coal *quhich* hath his burnt bons hurt  
 he stuts still for nought else but *yat* yow strangh his stwrt  
 yen choice on of these tuo : : and lett me learne or I goe  
 be frank freind or false foe : To the heart *yat* yow have hurt

76. And *yen with* a fell frawne *quhich* hade a full force  
 ye wholl world as it over waild *with* externe might  
 by *quhich* sight it weil seemd she had small remorse  
 upon the poor plient *yat* pyne in such patient  
 POLIPH: faith pilgrime (*quod* she *yen* thou lands all too late  
 =ILA a stranger detrues him dethrns him from state  
 yea ma Word to *conclud* : I now can doe no good  
 for he is reft (by the rood : by too stronge a mate

77. Though som tyme the day dew I ner dow deny  
*yat* he in my heart hade the most supream place  
 And thus till the false faits his wealth did envy  
 I ner could but courteuslie *consider* of his caice  
 made my fearfull heart both affrayd & unfaine  
 And now (though it seime strange)  
 he rews now *quhill* I rainge  
 his bade chance & my change  
 hath breed all his baine

[f.112v]

78. But lykas for my love he longs but release

associat (for my saik) *with* many sad songe  
 I am compend in *yat* kind *with* else cairfull caice  
 for he *quairin* I most wish hath wrought all my wronge  
 And lyke as for his Love he reaps but disdaine  
 the leid *quhom* I best lyke but loaths me againe  
 And as he livs him alon : With many great grivous groan  
 So in my Mynd I bemoan : my hid parteing paine

79. I flie to be folloud thus & follow to be fleed  
 I love & am loathd Loe & loath to be Lovd  
 So heir \his/ a stratagem *quhich* hath my bailbreed  
 I freize in the hoate flams & fray inthe floode  
 I Lose *quhat* I best love yet choackt am *with* store  
 so much as my cloyd mynd can Mint for no more  
 Thou goe againe *quhence* thou came . & Show thy seik freinds & \Dame/  
 persists still the selfe same *yat* she wes of zeare

80. But er I work ye any wrang *yat* no Way hath Wyte  
 but things ~~feles~~feiles on thy feet thus freindlie doth faire  
 toseek for *yat* seick man some sawe for his syte  
 & cure by thy kind craft his heart killing caire  
 Thow shall \sall/ on the way walk or stay in the street  
 & *yen* thou sall receive soon thy response in Wreitt  
 And *yen quhill* she the door barrd : I stood still Unskarrd  
 & hence throu a hoole heard \eare/ : the song of the sueitt

### Poliphila ere she wrott this disputs with her selfe

81. How hard it is non knaws so weil as I  
 Unto a dolefull and divided mynd

to mack a weall joynd answer & reply  
 In principall & \In [illegible]/ noble parts ar pynd  
 yen shall I be to creultie inclynd  
 or pitie him *yat* prays pleads for prace  
 of his or *yat* I strike in contrarie caice

82. I love (alas) & am not love againe  
 & loath of him *quhen* Lovs me as his liffe  
 & **I** for my *saint* my slawe for me is slaine  
 & **I** of his threed of myne he keips ye kniffe  
 how shall I end this strange & fatall stryffe  
 but best it wer to looke befor I loupe  
 & not to Loss assurance trew for houpe

83. What sall my soul so farr divided doe  
*quhairon* shall now, my resolution rest  
 X *quhat* weard *quhen* knows he best to yeild unto  
 of strang extreams how cane I chone ye best  
 Cum paphthian prince I pray & I protest  
 assist me now & maike nomore delay  
 and guide my steps in this my Wildsome way

84. Poor hermite *yen yat* in distres doth duell  
 & buys my love *with* dear & great expence  
 unlosd *with* in thy sad & shaddie Cell  
 he blyth & lett thy wonted harms goe hence  
 Thou must not die since I may mack defence  
 pull *yen* a poynt & period to thy pyne

thy long sought Love & lady shall be thyne

85. zitt writt I will in wrathfull verse to the

to kynd petition give a cold reply

I will not seime nor blind nor bold to be

*with* facile faith to tuist befor I trye

zitt I a vow to neyr lodge nor lye

in any bed till I behold thy face

& boldlie once my best belowd imbrace

86. Goe loveless lyns salute my lower true

zitt stay ostay least ye inlarge his paine

Bot goe god grant yat nought but good ensue

Stay lurid lyns yow may be quyte mistaine

zitt goe & zitt yow shall not goe alaine

my self shall follow *with* a love wingd heart

god grant my voyage be not wared in waist

## Pilgrim

87. And so in a short space yat sweit seimly *saint*

presents me hir pilgrime a bail bearing bill

& cause in the wyld way she weind I should want

my script & bottle wayanded wer all will

And from her fair finger fynd a ring did she taike

presents me & prays me good newes to bring backe

And having no more to say : but loath yat I should long stay

She went weeping away : And not a word spacke

88. And *yen quhen* the blacke night his sade shaddow show

lyk a bad successor degenerd from the day  
 I tooke my thrid foot in hand & through the throng threw  
 And cloyd *with* unclear clouds thus I wentout ye way  
 zett loath to unlent thus the letter ore long  
 I came to my seick freind & thus wes his song  
 ffor *quhen* I weil knew his voyage-~~ce~~  
 I keipt up my self closs  
 to learne the layes of his lose  
 the wyd woods\in/ among

[f.112r]

## 89. Erophilus Complaint

So many things of 3ow hawe pryed poets penned  
 In sheaw *yair* sade & pearceing pens \pains/ & cause *yair* cairis be kend  
 yat nought is left (alas) to poor Unhappie me  
 in earth in air in vaults above nor in the glassie sety **a sea**  
 no Metaphorick ph\r/a3e nor quick invention braive  
 nor alleyorick sweit conceit nor theame sublime orgraue  
 since all things else ar *quod* yat I cane writt or say – [c]wray[/c]  
 I hawe no method left to me hav**me** how my warks I may be  
 and nothing doth wrage my matchless greiffe ~~greiff~~ so much  
 as yat my skill should be sosmall & sorrow \should/ be **Much**  
 zitt all these poets brave *quhen* wer or after this shall be  
 (could I but utter as I feill) should all give place to me  
 & thou *quhos* mirth wes lost *quhos* confort wes dismayd [c]DYER[/c]  
*quhos* hope invaine *quhos* faith in skorne *quhos* trust wes all betrayd  
 though thou declard the dole in brawe & daintie dy  
 thou wes unhappie yen I grant bot now unhappie I

thy poems shall present upon the pleasant page  
 nor sorrows *quhen* thou oversell unto the comeing age  
 with Coastly MUREX rare SYDONIAN wairs divine  
 thou letts thy lyns *quhich* mack thy moans Miraculouslie to shyne  
 my pangs lyk TAGUS sands no numbers cane be wray  
 or lyk AURORAs tears *quhich* she for memnon shads each day  
 as starrs in frostie night cannot betold *quhich* shynes  
 as many hosts of harms my heart *without* compassion pynes  
 yea would I strive to tell these torments why I feil  
 with travell tint *yen* should I twin IXIONS fatall wheil  
 & to engorge those greiffe *quhich* macks me sigh & soabe  
 wer but to weaw ane endless new PENELOPEAN webbe  
 myn eyes lyke fountains full in bloods zitt furnaces doe fry  
 or lyk ye BELIDEYAN TÛBBO *quhos* dome wes wer to dyy  
 my zitt & skadding \fiyrs/ nolineall course cane take [c]maik[/c]  
 but restless round about my heart a sperick motion  
 my thoughts ar now of bless lyk rûcnd I lion bare  
 a reconsuised mass of *yat quhich* flurisht once so faire  
 my ventureing wes my wrack my high desire my fall  
*quhich* mad ye naufrage of my heart my hop my hap & all  
 alas alas *yat* I impossible did preass  
 abow my fortunes race to she so farr to my disgrace  
 Disgrace *with* loss *with* shame *with* wrack & endless wronge  
 these ar the drierie dittays now & subject of my songe  
  
 zitt dare I not alas (though I haue cause) Complaine  
*quhich* maiks me thus to Timoinze & sham for to be seme  
 yet by my loss let oys learne a lower course to keep  
 but since it is my fait to fall to raille & weepe

& I with patience will my freinds returne awaite  
his newes will eyr end my woes or else restor my state

PIL: And *quhen* I sawe his song received a full end  
I shortly my self shew & kyndlie did kyth  
And *quhen* yat sore seick man his fare beard kend  
syne saw ye fate of his freind god knows he wes blyth  
yen brought I tae blacke bill superscryvd *with* his name  
& subscrvd *with* the hand of his dear dame

And *yen with* a glade cheare  
yen hope had deforcd feare  
he thus read *yat* might heare  
the sence of the same

### Poliphilas answr to Tra—Erophilus

90. Thy loving lyns I rashlie did receave  
by *quhich* thy truth thy state thy suite I sie  
zitt at my hands no succour shall thou haue  
since faits to me ; I shall be foe to the  
And if thy death do thou my doome depend  
Live loathd or die ~~or dye~~ disgracd & so I end

### PILGRIME

91. I raged as he *yen* did read these sad & sorrie news  
his wonted voes revive & his old hurt & harms  
he now reid & *yen* pale changed many hewes  
& dounefell in deaths thraw tuixt my weack arms

92. And *quhen* with my fresh tears I foyled his fand face  
 his blood & his braith come unto *yair* pynd & ~~pale~~ paine place  
 he crys on CLOTHO to say  
 her doome for *yat* halfe day  
 till he in writt may be wray  
 his height great disgrace

### Erophilus his Testamente

93. Bot now & not till now my swanish song I sing  
 & *with* each word my dyeing eyes a bloodie tear furth bring  
 not *yat* I loath (alas) or shrink for to be slaine  
 for *quhat* cane be so sueit as death *quhich* puts ane end to paine  
 but by my death because her honor & renowne  
 shall loss ye coastlie diadem of fams Immortall Croune  
 yet since it is her doome *yat* in dispaire I dye  
 or loathed live the choice is hard *quhairin* no midst cane be  
 & 3itt of evils tuo the best must ay be tane  
 so *yat* I rayr choyce to dye nor live in lasting paine  
 long hawe I lockt my thoughts fra *quh\nce/* ye ~~thoughts~~ *\torments/* of sorro\w/ spring  
 the end *quhairof* alas must be a letter will to singe  
 my tuns ar cairfull crys my words are plaints alace  
 the songs theam must the singer be since pittie hes na place  
 my pains ar lyke a poynt *yat* is into a Circle sett  
 still mon nearness to my selfe *yat* no releiffe I gett  
 how cane I hop for halping hand since heavens me despyrse  
 & all ye gods ar deamed abow *with* my sad plaints & Cryes  
 earths burden am I now *quhos* breth in feils the aire  
*with* poysond breath preceeding from a heart *consumd with* Caire



for loe ye faithless \fayr/ into this state me calls  
 quhos state ye statly starrs yemselvs quhos fortun fortune thralls  
 quhat resteth yen but death since death must be the last  
 to putt ane \poynt/ end to all my paine since pleasures hope is past  
 yet I attest ye gods since first our Lows begane  
 yat I hawe bein leallest ay & best affected man  
 my love alas yairfor & thy disdane hath beine  
 ye most extreams yat ever wer or shall againe be siene

Thou

[f.112r]

[T]hou hes betrayd my hope & brock thy wowed faith  
 thou p[re]counsed lyff by love thou hes decernd my death  
 Thus whyl thy Cruel doome I call befor and tho  
 The eyes of my remembrance I doubt quhat I shall doe  
 I sometyms wish to live not to enjoy thy love  
 but yat I might behold my wrongs revenged from abowe  
 or yat sometyms thou lyke the yat MINOIAN dame  
 by THESEUS may be left alone & suffer such a shame  
 or yat the fatall wheel quhairon thou leans may lout  
 & mounting me may mack ye plead for \my/ thy peace tyme about  
 but whillst againe I think might I may wish obtine  
 I could not but be kind to the for kindness yat hath beine  
 yea though I be dydand yet such is zett my fyre  
 yat neptunes kingdom could not quench the coalls of my desire  
 for quhen I read the greiffs & torments quhich I thorrle  
 quhair no mischance it myn to fill a wofull martyrs roll  
 & quhen I look unto ye lyns in quhich the hellish doome

by thy hand writt to me it sent *quhat* death shallme *consume*  
 yen I resolve at once for to obey thy will  
 & though my liffe the ransome be) thy furie to fulfill  
 yen pilgrime thou *quhen* toock thy way unto ye wayles airts  
 for me prepare a buriall place for bons *quhu* braith deparits  
 & lett this Caven cold in *quhich* I now must die  
 to misers & unhappie men aWorthless mansion be  
 Yow hills & dails *with* sweit oblique & leisum levelled lyns  
*quhair* naturs workmanship & pryd in flowrie mantle sheins  
 Green may yow grow for ay & lett no spaits of raine  
 no winter showrs or sūmmer shūne yor statlie broidering slaine  
 And thou o statlie brooke *quhich* didst accept my tears  
 & harbour yen about thy heart for many looksome zears  
 straight to the oceane sea most sweitly may thou slyde  
 to pay thy devls bot any stay of *contrair* streame or tyde  
 yow whisling winds lyk ways *quhich* suietlie did receive  
 my cognat sight & burie *quhen* *within* thy bosome brawe  
 doe this much for me zitt lack onsigh to my dame  
 & suietily whispering show [my] *saint* : yat I haue sent ye same  
 and if she shall refuse or vilipend in wraith  
 this news of NO shall be a spurr to heast me to my death  
 And thou suiet pyping PAN 3on FAUNS & satyrs rare  
*Quhich* wer amidst my mirthless moans Companions of my cair  
 3ou Nymphs of hills & daills of woods of walls & floods  
 I give 3ou all a long fairweall & so my caire *concluds*  
 And no in poynt of death *quhos* wisht appe wach I feil  
 I clerat unto yow all (H saveing word ffairweall

HEIRE ENDETH EROPHILUS his testament

## Eubulus

94. And this *quhill* I to peace the sad poor hermits p[a]line  
 prepared to repeat on his proud mistris speech  
 he doune tuix in arms fell into deaths thraw againe  
*quhen* no lord for his liffe my thought could be aleech

95. His cognat corps *with* the cold clay wer lumpish lyke to lead  
 healthless & helpless seimed he in heart & hand & head

    yen weack wretch did I waile

    & but respect raine to raile

    on hir whose faith now did faile

    In such tyme of neide

The Continuantione & last verse of Eubulus discourse ph beginneth on this ~~next paragraph~~ Column

96. Yitt in the midst of my moans doune lights ye fair dame  
 accompanyd *with* non but her pelfray & her page  
 but *quhen* she saw her leil love bay lost er she came  
 her faire face & ritch robs she rent in great rage  
 And flathings ye fair fell on her faint face  
 & great seas of salt tears she spent in short space

    And song suae her sweit flaime

*quhen* na remeid did remaine

    she thus concluds to complaine

    her bade cairfull caice

her complaints on the heade of this ~~Column~~ next page & ordesupra

## Poliphilas Complaine

97. O endless night of moan *quhich* haht no morrow  
 O Loureing heavns *quhich* helpless harms still threat  
 or mantleing in & *with* sav[/b]le clouds of sorrow  
 throw *quhich* nor starr can sheyne nor air nor Lait  
 although escapd from Cage to seik my mate

And frame a glorious garland to my croune  
 I find by death my daintest rose beate doune

98. Though swelling seas *with* endless waves *yat* roll  
 to resalute the weather shakene shoare  
 they ebb they flow they changing courses tholl  
 & dare transcend the bounded banks no more  
 but I (alace) *quhairin* death doth still devoure

Admitt no stay nor measure in my moans  
 but our & Late Lament *with* grivous groans

99. Now numbers great of nights dispoyle of sleep  
 ar to *yair* pith : black predicessors gaine  
 since poysons coupe *quhich* I hawe drunk **So**[deipe  
 hath made a wound must mortall in each vaine

And hath not yet **t**o proclaimd my peirles paine

coins

Till now *yat* rest beams no ease to me  
 Its tyme to dye *quhen* we ar forcd to die

100. The scope and work at *quhich* my thoughts did aince  
 givs now my wexit spritt a mortall wound  
 & of my harms it helps the hudge bull frame

yat I am wise to sie my ills, and found  
 no helpe at all *quhair* help should most abound  
     I sie no ebb unto the flood of woe  
     *with* sade deludge *quhich* shaps to sink me so

ffollow the rest of her complaint on the othr page

[f.113 v]

101. Now wretched wretch my torment goes beyond  
 all hope of helpe & my deserts exceede  
 The worst of ills my thoughts hawe bein so found  
 yat might my fancie taile effect in deed  
 To thousand deaths though thousand shams sutteed  
 Nor all such shames nor all such deaths should slay me  
 till once the effect affected should betray me

102. But ach how cane my weit & weiping eyes  
 behold ye jewell of my liffe herefte  
 how cane my mynd admitt the least surmise  
 of any hope yat hawe but horror felt (**render st of ship**  
 X My pilot now in peep & sterne be efte  
 Espys no calme but mercier wanting storms  
 portending death in black & fearfull fooms

103. Thou Lett me dye & bide delyte adieu  
 delyte *with* the dear heart is dead & gone  
 The comeing age shall say thy THESBE trew  
 wes true to the & love but the alone

ffor we shall by beneth on buriall stone  
 On grawe in end shall end our fatall greiffe  
*quhich* yeilds me now in poynt of death releyfe

104. Since yesterday may not be brought againe  
 & wrongs (tho not recald) may be repeuted  
 will no more Invoock on death in vaine  
     but *with* my blood thy blood shall be resented  
     And both our livs in end shall be contented  
     As thou till death didst swrve & honour me  
     I aswer death shall swrve and follow the

105. And pilgrime now I pray and I protest  
     before I end this last exequall acte  
 Lett me be bold to mack some small request  
     yat now some pains forth um*quhill* freind thou laike  
     Ffirst in this place a privat growe canst mack  
     And lett us lye into invrd conjunctly ther  
     *quhair* non bill FAMIS & SATYRS mack repaire

106. Nixt *quhen* thou coms unto yat court & lands  
*quhairin* my love and luckless I wes borne  
 If any shall our dolefull deaths demands  
 with pittie speack & not ( I pray) with scorne  
 This practiqß rare *quhich* seldome wes beforne  
*quhen* as my deare & faithless freinds shall heare  
 my cairfull chance will coast yen in many a tear

**finis** coronalonus

## Eubulus

pain[]e

107. And so whilst yat rarest pearle depainting out her  
 Upon the dead cold corps of her \owne/ lealest love  
 Unto my else harmd heart it heaped harme againe  
 & layd new weight of voe my brinsed breast abow  
 To sie him & hear hir increast still my care  
 I wist not weall *quhom* to help him hir heir or ther  
 yett whilst I dreamd in this double  
 the poor hermite lookt aboute  
 & gawe faint shrill shoute  
 tuixt hope and dispaire

**wonder of hie world**

108. Now I sawe of the world the best most worthie wight  
 the choysest of all yat might on mould move  
 hallowed be the heavns all yat showd me such a sight  
**light from above**  
 & Lends liffe for to loock upon my Leill love  
 Now am I glade & ungrivd to the graw though I goe  
 the travell & toyles tane rewards weall my voe  
 ffor now plaine may appear ther is a change of my cheare  
 since hope heights helpe heire from my faire foe

## 109. Poliphila

I came (*quod* ye Clear *yen*) to cure all thy care  
 & though the fats hade forsworn to sang ye my feir

be blyth then my dear heart dispatch cold dispaire  
 & heigh horse thy hurt heart since I have the heat  
 Goe the from the fair feilds contemne thy cold cave  
*quhair* death bruttish bold the[] best blood doth creawe

And with the good gods grace  
 thou shall in a shorte space  
 from first lose find release  
 & hopt health receave

(1)109. Eubulus

Then franklie ye fant freick throu fraind fells furre  
 & past post to her pelfray the *with* greit payne  
 And of *yat* sweit seimlie *saint* : he held himself sure  
 the beast burthend *with* *yen* baiths of his faire faime  
*with* blyth bliss they baith bend & ryd haistlie hame  
 Throu sheme shaws & dunk daills he and his daintie dam

And whillest we adieu crye  
 through the wyld woods hye  
 And as we turnd by and bye  
 I waked of my dreame

ffinis of the Hermite & Pilgrime



III: Print Transcription:

(copy viewed on EEBO, from Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery)

'The Pilgrime and Heremite, in forme of a dialogue, by Master Alexander Craig.  
Imprinted in Aberdene: By Edward Raban, for David Melvill 1631. [36p]

WHen pale Ladie *LVNA*, with her lent light,  
Through the dawning of the Day was driven to depart  
And the cleare christall Sky vanished the Night,  
And the red morning rose from the right airt;  
Long ere the fond Childe, with Whip in his hand,  
From his slight sleepe awoke, to lighten the Land;

Twixt the Night and the Day,  
In my sleepe as I lay,  
Amidst my Dreame this fray  
And fairlie I fand:

Apparelled as a *Pilgryme*, with Staffe in mine hand,  
Foorth the day as I went, vndriven bout a guyde,  
Mee thought in a laigh Lay, a cleare Streame, a Strand,  
A broade Bush of Birke trees, by a Brooke syde:  
And hoping some *Heremite* made there repare,  
As fast as my feete might, forward I fare.

Through a Wood as I sought,  
To a Bush was I brought,  
Which Nature her selfe wrought,  
Withoutten airts lare.

Through the Wood as I went, halfe will of waine,  
A Cell to my sharpe slght can shortlie appeare:  
A quyet and a colde Caue, a Cabine of stone,  
I drew me darne to the doore, some din to heare.  
And as I lent to my Lug, this well I heard,  
How long shall I lonthed liue? I loue bout reward.

And when I knew by the din,  
Some wight was therein,  
To waxe bolde I begin,  
And no perill spar'd.

As I went through the floore of that colde Caue,  
I well espyed in the barke where the noyse sounded,

An hoarse hoarie *Heremite*, grieved and graue,  
 Whose boyling Breast naught but blacke baile abounded,  
 Whose colour, countenance, and pale deadlie hew,  
 His whole hidden Harmes there and griefes foorth shew:

Whose tumbling teares bout cease,  
 Lyke floods flowed over his face;  
 With manie long lowde alace,  
 And sad sighes anew.

Yet stoutlie hee start by, and stared in my face,  
 And craved how I there came? or who was my guyde?  
 By *Fortune*, quod I, thus fell the case,  
 Through the wild way as I went I wandered asyde,  
 And by a private plaine path I came to this Wood,  
 Wherein I wist well some *Heremite* was hid.

But since I am heere brought,  
 If that I offended ought,  
 By the Blood that mee bought,  
 I'll obey as yee bid.

A *Pilgryme*, quod hee, you seeme by your weede,  
 And a strayed stranger, if I right weine:  
 But since you are heere come, so GOD mot mée spéede,  
 Thou art welcome to such as you haue héere seene:  
 But yet of my treatment I trow yee shall tyre,  
 For neyther haue I Meate, Drinke, good Bed, nor Fyre.

On raw Rootes is my Food,  
 I drinke of the fresh Flood;  
 On Fog and greene Grasse good,  
 All night lyes my lyre.

Then helde I the *Heremite* with faire wordes anew,  
 And for his franke offring great thanks I him gaue:  
 And when I well tryde that his tale was all trew,  
 The cause of his comming there shortlie I craue,  
 The cause of my comming heere, *Pilgryme*, quod hee,  
 And with that the salt teares fell in his eye:

Alace its for the loue of ane,  
 For whose sake thus I am slaine:  
 A Martyr héere I remaine  
 By fatall decreée,

In faith, friend, quod I then, I saw by thy song,  
 When at the colde Caue doore darned I stood:  
 Some Sainct of the Shée sexe had wrought thee all this wrong;  
 And thou hadst long lived in loue, and yet vnlov'd:  
 And of the long letter this last line I heard,  
*How long shall I lothed liue? I loue bout Reward.*  
 Whereby I well knew,  
 That thy Dame was vntrue;  
 Thy pale and wan how  
 Foorth shew thou wasst snat'd.

Alace! quod the *Heremite*, I lived once to loue;  
 But now drowned in Despare, I see my death diest:  
 Though both Will and Wit would, I may not remoue,  
 I lye in the links of Loue fettered so fast:  
 And all my Care-séeeming-Swéets, are so mixt with Sowrs,  
 That each moment almost appeareth ten hours.

Thus liue I héere alone,  
 In this colde Caue of stone,  
 As next neighbour vnto none,  
 But Trees, Fowls, and Flowrs.

And thus in my darke Den I mynde to remayne,  
 As bound Bead-man to Her that workes all my woe;  
 Till Death with his Dart come put mee from payne:  
 Else *Atropus* cutting quyte the Threed in two,  
 And on the greene growing Barke of each blooming Tree.  
 This Diton indorsed shall well written bee:

In sorrow and sight slayne,  
 For Her heere I remayne,  
 Who lykes of another ane,  
 Much more than of mee.

Fond *Heremite*, quod I then, thy loue would appeare  
 Too high to bée placed aboue thy degree:  
 And thy fond foolish hope, frozen with feare,  
 And *Fortune*, thy *Olde Friend*, thy *New Enemie*.  
 For shee whom thou best lovest, as thy selfe sayes,  
 As reasonlesse, and ruethlasse, respects thee nowayes.

Thy syle is her sight;  
 Thy duill, her delight;  
 And thy payne to despight,  
 Shee pleasantlie playes.

Whereby it well seemes, thy labour is lost,  
 And vnto thy graue thou it goe, ere thou get her.  
 Mad man! why mak'st thou thyne enemy thy hospite?  
 Die not a foole, man; for Gods sake forget her.  
 For, put case, in hope to obtayne thy desires,  
 Thou die heere for want of Bed, Food, and Fyres:

Then who shall bee seene,  
 To loue thy dead Eine?  
 And intombe thee, I weine,  
 As custome requyres?

Leaue, then, thy Heremitage, and this colde Caue,  
 And liue no more in loue, since thou art not lov'd:  
 But follow mee, and take part as I haue:  
 Companie and counsell may doe thee some good.  
 For *Don-Diëgo* had died in Desart,  
 Wert not *Rodorigo* did him there convert.

Thus, it may fall so,  
 That I thy *Rodorigo*,  
 May finde ease to thy woe,  
 And heale thy hurt Heart.

Speake, Pilgrime, quod hee, of thinges that may bee,  
 Or that hath appearance, to take some effect:  
 For, such is my faintnesse, I want force to flee,  
 Loue, Fortune, Death, haue given such a checke.  
 Betwixt Wit and Will there is great debate;  
 The one with the other stryving for the state.

Flee Loue, quod my Wit.  
 Stay, sayes my Will yet.  
 So I byde; so I flit.  
 So I loue: so I hate.

But where thou wouldst seeme to salve all my sore,  
 And by thy strait statutes to stay all my sturt,  
 Meddle with that matter, good Pilgrime, no more,

Since all mine health hangeth on her that mee hurt.  
 The Coale that mee burnes to the bone, will I blow,  
 Though Liver, Lungs, and Lights, fly vp in a low,

Since shee doeth decree it,  
 That I die, so bee it;  
 I long till I see it.  
 Let Death bende his Bow.

Vayne wretch, quod I then, cast off thy vowed Weed,  
 And wander no more in this wilde Wildernesse:  
 It may bee thy Mistres, that deare Dame, bee dead,  
 For whose swéete sake daylie that diest in distresse:  
 Perchance before that thou her againe see,  
 By vote of the Wan-weirds, that buried shee bee.

Or put case, thy Dame deare,  
 Hath chosen a new Pheare,  
 Thou wouldst despare to see her.  
 That so lightlies thee.

Or contrarywyse, good Heremite, suppose  
 Thy Mistres this moment hath good minde of thee;  
 And for thy long absence maketh great moane,  
 And from her heart wisheth her leile loue to see:  
 Saying in her selfe, Would God I wist where  
 My poore pyned Patient doeth make his repaire.

Wist I well, so I thryue,  
 That hee were yet alyue,  
 I should bee no wights wyue  
 For ten yeares, and maire.

Conceit with thy selfe, good Heremite, I pray,  
 If thy Dame bee dead, thou wéep'st but in vaine.  
 Thou art a starke Stocke, heere still for to stay,  
 And mourne for the losse that mendes not thy moane.  
 For if shee some other respect more than thee,  
 What grace canst thou get, in duill heere to die:

Or wouldst thou thy trueth,  
 Should reape reward of rueth?

Why slipst thou so with sleuth,  
The thing that may bee?

Good Pilgrime, saide hee then, of these two I see,  
As you seeme to conclude, the one must bee true:  
Shee loathes, or shee loues: a mids may not bee,  
As to my paines I may prooue by signes anew.  
For my beloved Loue, my deare daintie Dame,  
Despiseth those Elements which spell my poore Name.

VVoe is mee, if I mint,  
To forge Floods from the Flint,  
My true travell shall bee tint,  
Such Friendship to frame.

But you would say, that Death, drierie Death!  
Perhaps, hath abrogate my deare Dames dayes:  
To looke for a long lyfe then must I bee loath,  
Whom each froward frowne else of Fortune affrayes.  
And since alyke for her loue I haue tane such payne,  
I care not a cuit for her sake to bee slayne.

I shall not séeme for to shrinke,  
Of Death, for hey death, to drinke;  
Whose swéete Eyes, with a winke,  
May reviuue mee agayne.

Let this then applease thee, good Pilgrime, I pray,  
That no presence, absence, no distance of place;  
No fond toyes, no new frayes; no tyme, no delay;  
No bad chance, no new change, nor contrarie case;  
No, not the fierce flames that Fortune can spit,  
Shall make my firme fixed sayth or fancie to flit.

Yea, let her fléete, let her flow;  
Let her doe what shee dow,  
To gar my griefe aye grow,  
I shall bee true yet.

Good Heremite, for trueth tolde I oft tymes haue heard,  
The leilest in loue, commeth aye the worst spéede:

And hee that deserues well to reape best reward,  
 For firme sayth and friendship, shall finde nought but feide.  
 Take tent to the tales tolde of true *Troyall* Knight,  
 And hee that hanged him selfe, if I reade right.  
 Yea, though thy sute thou obtayne,  
 With one word tint agayne:  
 Short pleasure, long payne,  
 With duile day and night.

But since thou delightest to liue still in loue,  
 Advyse thee on this well, *Bee never too true*.  
 Though thou sweare and say thy mynde shall not moue,  
 For *Orphus*, take *Protus*, to change aye thy hew.  
 Was not great Ioue turn'd in a Showre, in a Fyre,  
 In a Swan, in a Bull, t'obtaine his desyre?

For hee that loues lighliest,  
 Bee sure hee shall speede best:  
 And hee that loues without rest,  
 Shall surely get ill hyre.

Wherefore, in loue if that thou wouldst come speede,  
 Thou must flee fayth, bee facile, false, vntrue.  
 Ere thou prevayle right, so farre as I reide,  
 There must bee a sympathie twixt her and you.  
 For I demand, How can right Concord bee,  
 Whyle you are true, and shee both false and slee?

Shee lykes well another sho,  
 Then choose new, and change too:  
 And if you well doe,  
 Bee as false as shee.

Alace! quod the Heremite, too late I spye the right,  
 And wronged with woe, still wrongly I frame.  
 I know that in loue, my Ladie proues but light:  
 And if that I were wyse, I would doe the same.  
 But fayth and her remembrance martyres mee mair,  
 Than did her presence perfect mee, when I was there.

For whyles grieved, I greete;  
 Whyles I mourne, till wee meete:

And some tymes my poore sprite  
Dies, drowned in despare:

And whyles in a rage I reckon with my sell,  
And to and fro dispute, to dash my desyre:  
Halfe dead in Desart, heere why should I dwell,  
And pyne with payne, wanting Bed, Food, and Fyre?  
Why doe I lose youths pryme, without all gayne?  
Or why mourne I for her that kéepes Disdayne?

And when that I conclude,  
To burne Habite and Hood,  
Yet doe I not dde it,  
My Uow is so vayne.

Curst bee that fond Uow, that ever it was made:  
Curst bee the first cause of my hidden payne:  
And curst bee false Fortune, that holds mee at feid:  
And curst bee the blinde Boy, that breedes all my baine:  
Curst bee the first houre, the tyme, and the place,  
That fettred my fond Heart in her fayre Face.

Curst bee my wicked will:  
Nuyte spoyling mee of Skill,  
And tooke mee captiue, till,  
That Groome voyde of grace.

Unsayde bee that bad word, *That Groome voyde of grace*,  
What but her good graces can grieue mee so much?  
For I may will saye, if Pittie had place,  
Of all that on molde moues, there is none such,  
Oh! had the tymes past in Prayer beene spent,  
That rueth to my ruethlesse Loue had beene sent.

And *Cupid*, I call on thee:  
Thou hear'st, and canst not see:  
Haue pittie on poore mee,  
And grant myne intent.

Dame *Nature*, sayth the wyse Clerke *Empedocles*,  
Bestowes, good Heremits, her gifts here and there,  
As shee well pleaseth, the best is but Claise:



Each man must bee content, hee gets no mair.  
 For fayth doeth not affect thy Mistres faire,  
 But Beautie, which doeth bring thee to despaire.

Of pittie since no part  
 Is hid in her hard heart,  
 Yet let not the blacke dart  
 Of duile thee devoure.

And deafe not the good Gods, with thy vayne Sute:  
 What they haue once done, they will not vndoe.  
 Loue's lyke a trim Tree, which beareth no Fruite,  
 But greene leaues, and blossoms, and flowrisheth too:  
 Oft gladning the Gardner, in hope of good gayne;  
 Yet reapes hee in Harvest no Fruit for his payne.

Right so her fayre face,  
 With gifts of sweet grace,  
 Tint travell, alace,  
 Bont fruit makes thee fayne.

Then sute, serue, pray, prayse, or doe what you can:  
 Loe, heere I fore-tell thee, thy labour is lost.  
 For by the great griefs thou thol'st now and than,  
 To haste thyne owne death, thou runnest the Post.  
 Though surges of sorrow full swift thee assayles,  
 Thy lawtie in loue, bout lucke, nought avayles.

Though thou beate the Bush well,  
 Yet thy foe, without fayle,  
 Hints the Prey by the tayle,  
 And prowldie prevayles,

[8 missing pages]

So by your sweete selfe I preasse now to speake,  
 Whome by the god of Loue I pray, and beseike,

Forget the same of your force,  
 On your Man haue remorse;

Lest Death him and you divorce,  
For hee is sore sicke.

Or if a poore man's Plaint may pearce through your Eares?  
If Loue anie Lordship in your Breast may brooke;  
Haue pittie on his Passions, and salt tragicke Teares;  
Who Libertie, and Lyfe both, hath lost with a Looke.  
His Helpe must bee had from Handes that him hurt:  
For sterne must hee stay still, till you stay his stutt.

Then, choose one of these twa,  
Your sworne Slaue for to slay,  
Or revert all his wae,  
Whome your Beautie hurt.

And then, with a fell Frowne, which had a full force  
To over-rule the whole Worlde, with Eterne Might.  
Whereby it well seemed shee had no remorse  
Upon the poore Patient, pyned in such plight.  
Faith, Pilgrime, quod shes, thou ravest in a rage,  
That seekest by my shame his sicke sore to swage.

For, in a word to conclude,  
I can doe him no good;  
Hee is reaft, by the Rood,  
Of all his wun Wage.

Though sometime the day drew, I dare not denye,  
That hee in mine Heart had the most supreame place:  
And so, till the fond Fates his wealth did envye,  
I still, with courtesie, considred his case.  
And trust mee, Pilgrime, his Passions, and Paine,  
Ment as neare mine Heart, as ever did mine awne.

Though his case now seeme strange,  
I will not my selfe cleange:  
His bad chance, and my change,  
Hath bred all his paine.

And as for my Loue, who lyes without release,  
 Associate for my sake, with manie sad Song;  
 So am I payde in mine hand, with as carefull case,  
 For hee whome I best loue, hath wrought mee great wrong.  
 And like as for his loue, hee reapes but disdain,  
 The Loue whome I like best, loathes mee againe.

And as hee liues all alone,  
 With manie great grievous groane,  
 So to my selfe I bemoane,  
 My hid piercing paine.

I flee to bee followed, and following, am fled:  
 I loue, and am loathed, and loath to bee lov'd.  
 Heere's a strange stratageme, that my vaile bred:  
 I frieze in the hote Flame, and frye in the Flood.  
 I lacke whome I best loue, and choakt am with store:  
 Yea, haue so much, that my mynde can craue no more.

Thus goe thy wayes, whence thou came,  
 And showe thy sicke Friende, his Dame  
 Remaines yet the selfe same,  
 That shee was before.

I will worke thee no wrong, that no wayes hast wyte·  
 But through the Fieldes on thy Feete friendlie doest fate,  
 To seeke to thy sicke man some Salue for his syte,  
 And to cure by thy Craft his curst kindled Care:  
 Thou shalt walke on thy way, and stay on the Stréet,  
 And carrie him shortlie his answere in Writ.

And when shee the Doore bard,  
 I stoode still yet vnsdard;  
 And through a hole I heard  
 This talke of the Sweete.

**Poliphila, before Shee writ her An|svvere, disputeth vvith her ovvne Desires, as followeth**

HOw hard it is, none knowes, so well as I·  
 Unto a dolefull, and divided Mynde,  
 To make a well-joind Aunswere, and Replye,

When all the chiefe and noblest partes are pynde.  
 Then, Shall I bee to Crueltie inclynde?  
 Or pittie him that prayes, and pleades for Peace.  
 If this or that I sticke in contrare case?

I loue the Loue that lightlies mee againe;  
 And lightlie him that loues mee as his life:  
 Yea, for my loue with slaverie is slaine.  
 His lyfe's the Threed, my crueltie's the Knyfe.  
 How shall I rid this strange and fatall stryfe?  
 Yet best it were, to looke, before I lope:  
 And not to quite Assurance true, for Hope.

O my divided Soule! what shall I doe?  
 Whereon shall nowe my Resolution rest?  
 Which is the best Advise to yeelde vnto?  
 Of two Extreames, howe shall I choose the best?  
 Come, Pithiane Prince: I praye, and I protest:  
 Assist mee nowe, and make no more delay;  
 But guide mee well, in this my wilsome way.

Then, Heremite, that doest in Desart dwell,  
 And buyst my loue, with deare and great expence;  
 With Toyle, and Tormentes, tedious for to tell;  
 Bee blythe, and let thy wonted Harmes goe hence:  
 Thou must not die, while I may make defence.  
 Put then a point and period to thy paine:  
 Thy long-sought Loue and Ladie shall bee thine.

Yet will I write disdainfullie to thee:  
 Thy loving Lines must haue a colde Reply.  
 I will not seeme too credulous to bee,

With hastie Faith, to trust, before I trye.  
 But I avow, I shall not sleepe, nor lye  
 In anie Bed, till I beholde thy Face,  
 And boldlie him whome I should brooke, imbrace.

Goe, louelesse Lines, vnto my Lover true.  
 Stay yet, lest yee procure his farder paine.  
 God graunt nothing but Good heereof ensue.  
 Yet stay, for why? Yee will bee quite mistane.  
 Goe yet: but yet yee shall not goe alane:  
 My selfe will followe, with convenient haste.  
 God graunt my Uoyage bee not waird in waste.

Thus endeth her Disputation.

And so, in a short space, that sweete seemlie Saint,  
 Presentes mee· her Pilgrime, a baile-bearing Bill:  
 And as in the wilde way shee weind I should want,  
 My Bag, and my Bottle, shee plenisht at will.  
 A King from her Finger full faire did shee take:  
 And gaue mee, and prayde mee, good Newes to bring backe.

And, having no more to say,  
 But loath I should long stay,  
 Shee weeping went away·  
 And not a word spake.

Then, when the blacke Night her sadde Mantle shew,  
 Ill Successour, degenerate from the Day,  
 UUith the third Foote in hand, I throgh the thrang threw.  
 Though clad with the darke Clowdes, I went on my way.  
 And loath to detain the Lecture too long,  
 I came to my sicke Friende; and this was his Song·

But, when I knew his voice,  
 I kept my selfe full close,  
 To heare the Layes of his losse,  
 The wilde woods among.

### **The Heremite his Complaint.**

SO manie things before haue perfect Poets pende, For to expresse their piercing paines,  
 and cause their Cares bee kende

That nought is left, alace, for most vnhappie mee,  
 In Skyes aboue, on earth beneath, nor in the glassie Sea.  
 No Metaphoricke Phrase, no high Invention braue:  
 No Allegorie sweete Conceit, no Theame sublime and graue:  
 But all thinges else are saide, which I can write or say:  
 Thus in effect I wot not how my wracks for to bewray

And nothing doeth aggrege my griping griefe so much,  
 As that my skill should be so small, my sorowes should be such.  
 Yet all those Poets braue, which were, or yet shall bee,  
 Could I but vtter, as I feele, might all giue place to mee.

And thou whose mirth was least, whose comfort was dismaid·  
 Whose hope was vaine, whose faith was skorne, whose trueth was betraide:  
 Thou didst declare thy duile, in braue and daintie dye:  
 Thou wast vnhappie then, I graunt, but now vnhappie I.

Thy Poemes did present vpon thy pleasant Page,  
 Moe Sorrowes than thou ever felt into thy cunning age.  
 With costlie Nurix rare, Sidoniane Wares divine,  
 Thou litst thy Lines, which makes thy Moanes miraculously to shine.  
 My Paines, like Tagus Sandes, no numbers can bewray:  
 Or like Auroras tears, which she for Memnon sheeds each day.  
 As Starres in frostie Sky can not bee tolde which shynes;  
 So manie heaps of harms my hart without compassion pyns,

Yea, would I preasse to tell the torments that I feele,  
 With travell tint then might I turne Irions fatall wheele.  
 And to disgorge these griefs which make mee sigh and sob,  
 Were for to weue a new Penelopeian webbe.  
 My Eyes like Fountaines might in bloodie Fornace frye,  
 Or like the Lidiane Tubs, whose doome is never to bee drye.  
 My hote and smoothred sighes, no levill course can take:  
 But restlesse round about my heart esphearicke motion make.

My Thoughtes are now of Blisse like ruine Ilion bare:  
 My shape, a reconfused masse, which flowrisht once so faire.  
 My Ship, which sometimes saild in draine of hope aright.  
 On Rockes full colde is rent, in blacke and stormie night.  
 And I, forsaken Soule, a lyfelesse lumpe of Lead,  
 Twixt wind and waue am cast, whereas no strength can stand in stead.  
 My Uentring was my Wracke; my high Desire, my Fall:  
 Which made the Naufrage of my Hurt, my Hope, my Hap, and all.

Alace, alace, that I impossiblie did preasse,  
 About my Fortunes for to flie, so farre to my disgrace.  
 Disgrac'd with Losse, with Shame, with Wracke, and endlesse Wrong:  
 These are the dolefull Ditties now, and subjects of my Song.  
 Yet dare I not, alace, though I haue cause, complaine:  
 Which makes me sigh, and sob, and thus for loue am slaine.

But since it is my weird, to fall, to waile, to weepe;  
Then by my losse let others learne a lower course to keepe.

Thus endeth the Heremite his Complaint

And when I saw that his Song received a full ende,  
I showde my selfe shortlie, and kindlie did kythe.  
And when that sore sicke man his true Bearer kende,  
And saw the Face of his Friend, God knowes he was blythe.  
Then showde I the blacke Bill, subscriv'd with his Name,  
Well written with the hand of his owne deare Dame.

And then, with a glad cheare,  
When Hope had ceassed Feare,  
Hee read, that I might heare,  
The Will of the same.

### **Her Answer, to the Heremite**

THy loving Lines I rashlie did receiue,  
Wherein thy Trueth, thy State, thy Wracke, I see:  
But at mine handes no succour shalt thou haue:  
Though Friende to mee, I shall bee Foe to thee.  
And since thy death doeth on my doome depende,  
Liue loath'd, or die disgrac'd, and so I ende.

Thus shee shortly concludes.

And when hee read these bad and noisome Newes,  
Which did refresh his Woes, his Hurtes, and Harmes:  
Whiles red, whiles pale, hee chaunged manie hewes,  
And fell downe, in dead-thraw, betwixt my weake Armes.  
And when with my salt Teares I bath'd his pale Face,  
His Sprites, and his Breath, came to their owne place.

Hee cryde then, O Death, stay  
Thy date, for this halfe day;  
That I in writ may bewray  
My high great Disgrace.

### **The Heremite his Testament.**

BUt now, and not till now, my Swan-lyke Song I sing;  
And with each word my dying Eyes the bloodie Teares foorth bring.  
Not that I loathe, alace, or shrinke for to bee slaine:

For, what can be so swéet as death, which puts an end to pain?  
 My death shall bee the Cause, thy Honour and Renowne  
 Shal lose the conquerd Diademe of Fames immortal Crown.  
 Yet since it is thy Doome, that in disgrace I die,  
 Or loathed liue, the choise is hard whereas no mids may bee.  
 And yet of Evils twane, the best must aye bee tane:  
 So that I rather choose to die, than liue in endlesse paine.  
 Long haue I lookt for joy, whence floods of sorrow spring:  
 The ende whereof, alace, must bee my latest Will to sing.  
 My Tones, are carefull Cryes; my Words are Plaints, alace:  
 Sad Sorrow must the Singer bee, since Pittie hath no place.  
 My Paines are like a Point, amidst a Circle set:  
 Still in such nearnesse to my selfe, that no reliefe can get.  
 How can I hope for helpe, since Heavens doe mee despise?  
 And all the gods aboue are dead'd, with my Complaintes and Cryes.  
 Earths burden am I thus, whose sighes infect the Aire,  
 With poisoned breath, procéding from an heart consum'd with Care.  
 For loe, the faithlesse Fates vnto this state mee calles:  
 By which the statelie Starres themselues misfortune tholes.  
 What resteth then but Death? since Death must be the last,  
 To put a period to my paine, for pleasures hope is past.  
 Yet A attest the gods, since first our loue began·  
 I haue beene the lielest aye, and most affected man.  
 I loded thee, alace, thy Soliphermis sworne:  
 O Poliphila false! my lawtie is forlorne.  
 My loue, woe's mee, therefore, still thy disdaine hath beene:  
 The most Extreame that ever were, or shall againe bee séene.  
 Thou first betrayde mine Heart, then falsifide thy Faith:  
 And where thou promisde Lyfe, by Loue, thou hast decreede my Death.  
 When that thy Cruelties I call before, and to  
 The Eyes of my Remembrance, I doubt what I shall doe.  
 Whiles doe I wish to liue, not to envye thy loue:  
 But that I might beholde my wracke, revenged from Aboue.  
 Or that such wrongs as mine, if such, or worse, might bee,  
 Might make mee smile at thy Mishaps, as thou hast done at mee.  
 Or then that sometime thou, like that Minoniane Dame,  
 Mightst loue, and loathed bee, and suffer such like shame.  
 Or that the fatall Sparke, whereon thy Loines might lout,  
 And mounting much, might make thee pleade, for Peace thy time about.  
 Yet, whiles againe I thinke, might I my wish obtaine,  
 I could not but bee kinde to thee, for kindnesse that hath beene.  
 Thus what I would, I wish: but wot not what I would.  
 Twixt Heate and Colde I frieze, I frye, and fearfull am, and bolde.  
 Yea, though I bee dismaide, such is my flaming Fyre,  
 That Neptunes Kingdome could not quench the Coales of my Desyre.  
 Yet whiles I reade the Schrole of Torments which I thole,  
 Where no Mischance is mixt to fill a grieved Martyres Roll.



And when I looke the Liues, wherein thy Hellish Doome,  
 By thy Chyrographie sent, That Death should me consume,  
 Thus I resolute at ones, for to obey thy will,  
 Although my Lyfe the Ransome bee, thy Furie to fulfill.  
 Since Contraries, wee see, are by Contraries cured:  
 Then, welcome, Death, to cut the Threed, which hath so long endured.  
 For why? my Prayers are but Curses late and aire:  
 And I beseech the gods by night, to see the Day no maiore.  
 My wishes are, that Hilles and Rockes should on mee fall,  
 To end my endlesse breath, my lyfe, my loue, and all.  
 Yet all those wishes are but types, that I must die,  
 Which revelations all at once, shall now accomplit bee.  
 Then louelesse dame, adieu, whom I haue helde so deare:  
 And welcome, Death, to cut the Threede, which holdes my lyfe in weire.  
 And, Pilgryme, thou who took'st thy way in manie airts,  
 For me prepare a burial Bed, for Bones, when Breath departs.  
 Yet recommend mine Heart, vnto my sometime-Sweet;  
 Who shall, when I am dead and gone, for Grace and Greeting greet.  
 And let that place bee nam'd, Strophonius Caue of care:  
 Where nought but woefull wandring wights, vndone with duill, repaire.  
 And let this Caverne colde, wherein I dwelt, to die,  
 For Misers, and vnhappy men, a matchlesse Mansion bee.  
 Let him whose erring steps should guide him heere to plaine,  
 Take paines to recollect my rolls, & scattered Skrolles againe.  
 That these my Waylings now, and Sorrowes Children may  
 Extolde in after comming times, endure, and lieue for aye.  
 And that the wandring eyes, which reade my sorrowing songs.  
 When I am dead, may say, that shee causelesse hath wrought such wrongs.  
 The Mountaines high, whose poynts doe pierce the asure Aire;  
 Whose echoes lowde my Commerades make comfort to my Care:  
 Still not your hights arise, with statelie tops and stay,  
 To match the Alpes, that yee may bee as famous, faire as they,  
 Yee Valleys louelie low, with sweet and leuell lynes,  
 Where Natures workmanship and pryde in Floraes Mantle shynes:  
 Greene not yee grow for aye, and that ne spais of raine,  
 No Snowie showres, no partching Sunne, your statelie broy|dering staine.  
 And thou, O blessed Brooke, which didst accept my Teares;  
 And harbored thee within thy heart, so manie loathsome yeares.

Unto the Ocean great, most swiftlie not yee slide,  
 To pay thy debts, bout stop or stay of contrare streame or tide.  
 Yee whisling windes, likewise, which swiftlie did receiue,  
 My Cogiate Sighs, and burie them within your Bosome braue.  
 Doe thus much once for mee; Take one Sigh to my Dame:  
 And whispering sweetlie, show that Sainct, thus haue I sent the same.

And if shee doe refuse, which out of doubt I dread,  
 The newes of *No*, shall bee a Sput, to haste mee to my dead.  
 Yee braue and statslie Trees, which circumcitate heere,  
 Still bloome, and blossome, with the change of yearlie changing cheare.  
 Though I did ryue your Kyndes, & brake your tender Barkes,  
 By painting Polyphilaes name to your immortall markes:  
 Agrieue not with your wounds, for I dare well avow,  
 That I more cruellie haue rent my tender Heart, than you.  
 But last, and by the laie, thou Holline, graue and greene,  
 Wherein my Mistresse name, and mine, most liuelie may bee seene,  
 I consecrate to thee my Corpse, when I am gone,  
 That by my losse I may enlarge thy thornie leaues eachone.  
 And when I shall consume, and rot about thy roote,  
 Then shall thy Boughs and Branches bloome, and beare a fairer Fruit:  
 And as thou tak'st increase, so shall Her Name, and mine,  
 Unto thy praise, my losse, her shame, in seemelie sort aye shine.  
 Yee savage Citizens, which in this Forrest bee,  
 That did exchange your Cruelties, in Courtesies to mee:  
 Well not yee bee, poore Beastes, and that no shots of Lead,  
 No life-bereaving Bow, nor Bolt, procure nor haste your dead.  
 And thou sweete pyping Pan, ye Fawnes, and Satyres rare,  
 Which were amidst my matchlesse moanes, Companions of my care:  
 Ye Nymphes of Hilles & Dales, of Woods; of Uailes, of Floods;  
 I bid you all, alace, Good-night, and so my Muse concludes.  
 For now the Herbinge of Death, must life and loue bereaue.  
 My Heart is faint, and loe, my Soule begins to take her leaue.  
 And so at point of Death, whose wisht approach I feele,  
 To end my life, I write this last Ill-faring word, Fare-well.

So endeth the Testament of Stophonius.

Thus the poore Heremite in midst of his paine,  
 Began to repeate his faire Mistres speach;  
 Downe betwixt mine Armes fell, in dead thraw againe.  
 UUhen no Leid for his life, mee thought, could be Leach.  
 His Cognate Corpse as Clay were, like the Lead:  
 Yea, healthlesse and helplesse, were Heart, Hand, and Head:

I began to bewaile,  
 And eke for to raile,  
 On her whose faith did faile.  
 In such time of neede.

Yet in the midst of my moanes, downe lighted that Dame,  
 Companied with none, but her Palfray and Page:  
 And when shée saw her lie Loue lye deade ere shée came,  
 Her faire Face and rich Robes, shée rent in great rage.  
 And startling shée fell vpon his faint Face,  
 And great Seas of sault Teares shée spent in short space.

And séeing her Swéet slaine,  
 No remead did remaine:  
 Shee thus began to plaine,  
 Her bad carefull case.

### **Polyphila her Complaint, and Testament**

O endlesse Night of noyse, which hath no Morrow!  
 O lowring Heavens, which harmes still haue threat!  
 Ov'r mantling mee with sable Clowds of Sorrow!  
 UUhereas no Starre doeth shine earlie nor late.  
 Although I ship from *Craig*, to seeke my Mate,  
 And from a glorious Garland to my Crowne,  
 I finde by death my daintie *Rose* dung downe.

Yée swelling Seas, with waltering UUaues that roll.  
 To resolute the weather-beaten Shoare:  
 They eb, they flow, and changing, Courses tholl,  
 And dare transcende their bounded banks no more.  
 But I, alace, whom Duill doeth still deuoure,  
 I finde no entermissions to my Moanes,  
 But ere and late lament my grievous Groanes.

How can my wofull Heart, and weeping Eyes,  
 Beholde the dearest of my life bereaft?  
 How can my minde admit the least surmyze,  
 Of anie Hope, that hath but Horrour left?  
 My Pilote now, by North, nor yet by East,  
 Espies no Calmes, but Mercie-wanting Stormes;  
 Pretending Death, in blacke and vglie Formes.

I grouelinges on the Ocean of my pride,  
 Did misregard each true and loving Sute.  
 So mante sude for favour on each side,  
 Which made my Seede to yeelde much barren Fruite.

Though I bewaile, as nowe, it bringes no buite.  
 Sighes, Teares, and Uowes, and all are waird in vaine:  
 Since nothing can redéeme thy life againe.

Aye mee, alace! Alace, and waile-away!  
 Deare Heert, poore Heart; what restes for thy behoue?  
 Since I procur'd thy death, by my delay,  
 And did mistrust my true and constant Loue:  
 Now shall my death, thy present death approue.  
 Though whilst thou liv'd, to loue thee I was loath;  
 Yet I am thine beyonde the date of death.

Then let mee die, and bid Delight adue;  
 Since my delight is with thee dead and gone.  
 The comming Age shall say, thy Thisbe true,  
 Was constant still, and lov'd but thee alone.  
 Wee both shall lye vnder one Marble stone.  
 One Graue in ende, shall ende our fatall grieue;  
 Which yeeldes mee nowe, in point of death, reliefe.

Since yesterday may not bee brought againe,  
 And Wrongs may bee repented, not recall'd:  
 I will no more in veigh on Death in vaine.  
 But make all Womens cowrage to bee bolde:  
 And in the Tymes to come, it shall bee tolde;  
 Though thou till death didst serue and honour mee,  
 I after death haue sought, and followde thee,

And, Pilgrime, nowe, I praye, and I protest,  
 Before I ende this last exequall Act,  
 Let mee bee bolde to make this small Request;  
 That for thy vmwhile Friende some paines thou take:  
 First, In this place, a private Graue gar make;  
 And let vs lye interd conjunctlie there,  
 Where nought but Fawnes, and Satyres make repare;

Next, When thou comst into my natiue Land,  
 Wherein my Loue, and louelesse I was borne;  
 If anie of our Tragicke death demand,  
 With Pittie speake, I praye, and not with Scorne.  
 This Practicks rars, which seldome was before,

Which when my deare and loving Friendes shall heare,  
My Tragicke ends will cost them manie a Teare.

Thus endeth her Complaynt.

And so when that rare Pearle departed out of paine,  
Upon the colde dead Corpse of her leile Loue,  
Unto my else hurt Heart did heape Harmes againe,  
And layde new weight on my brast Breast aboue.  
To see him and her gaspe, still no wrisht my care.  
I wist not whom to helpe, him, or her there.

While I stooode in this doubt,  
The Heremite lookt out,  
And gaue a faint shout,  
Twixt hope, and despare.

This is the Worlde's most wondrous worthie Might,  
Most matchlesse of all, that may on molde moue.  
Halowed bee the Heavens, that showde mee this sight.  
And lent mee this light, to looke on my leile loue.  
Now am I glad, and vngriev'd, to Graue though I goe:  
Thy travell and toyle doeth reward well my woe.

For wilt thou belieue mee,  
My Maker mischieue mee,  
If thou canst agrieue mee,  
I still loue thee so.

I come, quod the Cleare then, to cure all thy care,  
Though the Faires had forsworne to fang thee my Feire.  
Bee biythe then, my deare heart, and mourns thou no maire,  
For Peace, saith the Proverbe, puts end to all weire.  
Goe leaue then thy Hermitage, and thy cold Caue,  
Where Wolfe, Lyon, wilde Beare, thy blood still doe craue,

And with the good God's grace,  
Thou shalt in a short space,  
For all thy losse stnde release,  
And first Health receiue.

Then franklie the Frieke fuire, with her helpe and mine,

And to her Palfray hee past, although with great paine:  
 And tooke on that swéet Sainct, that méেকে Iem divine;  
 That miracle which gods made, as next vnto naine.  
 Then blythlie the Bairue blent, and hyde hastie Hame,  
 Throgh shéene Shawes, & donke Dailes, with his deare Dame.

And so with Adew dry,  
 Through the Wood could they hye,  
 As wee twind, they and I,  
 I woke of my Dreame.

Heere endeth the fatalitie of the loyall Lover Soliphereus, and of his sweete Ladie Polyphila

### **The Poeme**

AS perfect Poets eye-tymes haue tane paine,  
 And search'd the Secrets of each high Engyne,  
 By base and lowlie Subjects to exclaime,  
 High Mysteries, both morall and divine:  
 Even so into this worthlesse Worke of mine,  
 Which at Friends bidding boldlie I set foorth;  
 Some things may séeme obscure, though little worth.

For as the Heremite leaues his dearest Dame,  
 And takes delight in colde Desart to dwell:  
 Syne of his Lot, and of him selfe, thinkes shame,  
 And still despaire, and still doeth loathe him sell:  
 So wretched man, exchanging Heaven with Hell,  
 Forgetting GOD, in Darknesse doeth remaine,  
 And still despaire, to get Reliefs againe.

And as the painfull Pilgryme, now and than,  
 With Arguments, and pithie reasons strong,  
 Would faine reduce the Heremite, if hée can,  
 And make him to beholde his woefull wrong:  
 And as the Woods, and savage Beastes among,  
 So with him bydes, and recomforts his Care:  
 Syne holds him vp, from dying in Despare.

And as in ende, hee mooues him for to wryte;  
 Syne shewes his Sutes vnto his Mistres Eyes:  
 Wherein, yée sée, shée tooke no small delyte,

Because in him some signe of Trueth shée stes.  
 Shée cures his Cares, and all his sicke Disease:  
 Yea, heales his hurt, and heartlie by the hand,  
 Shée home-ward leades him, to her natie Land.

So sinfull man, first by the helpe of Faith,  
 Despiseth Sinne, repents, and sore doeth pray,  
 That GOD in Mercie would avert His wrath,  
 And make His bred displeasure to decay.  
 And when the sicke converted would away,  
 From worldlie ease, with haste hee maketh speede:  
 Then comes the LORD, to helpe His owne at neede.

Hee cures our cares, Hee helps vs to bee haile:  
 Hee makes our sorie Soules for to rejoyce.  
 If wee in Him confyde. Hee will not faile,  
 To free vs from the force of all our Foes.  
 And at the last, with great disgrace of those,  
 That loving LORD, shall take vs by the Hand,  
 And with Him leads vs, to the *HOME LAND*.

FINIS.



### III Facsimiles of NLS Adv.34.5.14

[illegible]



















How hath no happy but was my daughter  
 To of shaming but shapen in my heart  
 C. now is comming of heart and soul  
 for shee howe faine & faine panye maye yf faine  
 W. minding from fleyndt rust waitef fto faine  
 on earth (faint loof) faine no ofe ploynt

That dard faye no man hath dard more pny  
 nor ftoe but miffed no more dard requard  
 for qu miffed dard by faye dard miffed  
 foynt by ftoe but ftoe dard  
 ftoe miffed my ftoe miffed more  
 ftoe miffed ftoe ftoe ftoe

Did dard faye no man hath dard more pny  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard

They ftoe no ftoe but a ftoe dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard

I will dard faye no man hath dard more pny  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
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 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard

I will dard faye no man hath dard more pny  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard

And thus my ftoe ftoe no man hath dard more pny  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard

Though ftoe ftoe no man hath dard more pny  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard

Loe ftoe ftoe no man hath dard more pny  
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 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard

And ftoe ftoe no man hath dard more pny  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard

It miffed (dard) ftoe no man hath dard more pny  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard

For ftoe ftoe no man hath dard more pny  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard

Or if ftoe ftoe no man hath dard more pny  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard

And thus ftoe ftoe no man hath dard more pny  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard

Yea in a word to ftoe ftoe no man hath dard more pny  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard

Though ftoe ftoe no man hath dard more pny  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard

And thus ftoe ftoe no man hath dard more pny  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard  
 dard dard dard dard dard dard dard

















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### **Appendix**

Appendix A shows the index of NLS Adv. MS 35.4.14 or 'The Thoires Family Commonplace Book'.

Appendix B shows the index and first lines of the booklet containing the examined poem and the only booklet in the MS which correlates to the containing booklet. I propose that these booklets once formed the same codex.

Appendix C shows the *fisher signature* of the Thoires scribe.

**Appendix A:**

book let	length, width (mm)	material	hand
ff. 1-2	275, 185	paper	William Thoirs: Wm
ff. 3 - 50	275, 195	paper	Wm
ff. 51 - 52	160, 100	paper	Wm
ff. 53 - 99	(f.53 & f.100) 280, 192	rough paper, sewn doubles	Wm
	(ff.54-99) 275, 185	paper	Wm
ff. 101 - 148	275, 195	paper	Wm
ff. 149 - 150	150, 90	paper	Wm
ff. 151 - 198	280, 185	paper/ 152r-162r inked border	Wm, neater & more calligraphic
ff. 199	279, 165	membrane	Wm
ff. 200 - 247	246, 180	paper	Wm
ff. 248 - 282	281, 184	paper with inked borders	Wm
ff. 283 - 330	248, 172	paper	Wm
ff. 331 - 359	281, 179	f.331r bordered, rest not	Wm
ff. 360 - 361	207, 168	paper	PRINT
ff. 362 - 407	246, 178	paper	Wm, neater & faint
ff. 408 - 416	285, 183	paper	Wm, neater & condensed
ff. 417 - 464	250, 180	paper	Wm, fainter
ff. 465 - 485	284, 180	paper/ inked border	Wm
ff. 486 - 533	240, 180	paper	Wm
ff. 534	279, 165		Wm
ff. 535 - 566	208, 155	paper	Wm neater, narrow aspect
ff. 567 - 582	190, 155	paper	Wm
ff. 583 - 606	153, 201	paper	Wm
ff. 607 - 630	192, 150	paper	Wm

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**Appendix B:**

<b>booklet 3-50</b>	<b>heading first lines/date</b>
3r	The mass June 1708 on the Luisa's Day These afflied on Wm of Massans grave Esies the e on jary 1702 Jamis answe...
3v	The appar In silence of the night qn mortalls eyes/ & senses are fast lokt by On the pri Lyk to bellerophon I dare not fly/ Above our sphere to mark ane On 4th of Since almost all his Nation on designe/ & advance yr seall Intres On the fan Me thoght I heard Jobe in ane angerie mood/ as qu upon the eart
4v	The Heald This to the restoration & peace Consolation/ to all in tribulation
5r	On 29 Ma Once happy Brittain whilest my natall day/ wes Celebrat wt due On the yer This is the year we long desid to sie/ last of ane age & a grand I
[horizontal]	1691 four [can't discern what this refers to]
5v	To the Queen the 10th of Junis
6r	Upon the l And we may justly fear we may repent/ of the duall cause of his The Visco Me thinks I heard a winged seraph tune/ most charming we qu h Another u I need not crow the assistance of a muse/ I invigorat my sorry &
7r	Elegie anr This is the year yt doth Compleit the stage/ of the onthousand ye
7v	Epithalmin This is the tyme qn birds begin to sing/ Melodius nots to Welcor
8r	A valedict Since yow docterie to god from this Chyme/ And to imbibe the
8v	On Patrick An Death I wes thought ye preceeding age/ did move yu Glutt yr Elegie on All Cruel fates upon may we all regrate/ this public loss & our b
9r	In nuphas Here novo Volmres cantant sua gaudia pungunt...
9v	On Brigad Come Murn with me ye sons of mars suice/ from tender years w To the hor Yor deacon to yt traid qih weall may bye/ for marks of honour a
10r	on the mo No sooner did The almight by his word/ a being to the universe :
10v	Off the W Adam to cover nakedness did strive/ & soon began to card & spin
11r	In 29 May Leta dies red yt quondam Celebrata quotamus ob Cuerolum Italy Poem on l Tyme is inconstant motions & doth pass/ by a continuall flu & fi
11v	Upon the Before the thistle with the rose wes twynd/ our patriots about it t Longe drit 20 stat or pourers Kablinkers Ginking Whorers laik up yor moat 21 Great C By law they fell as we can tell the whiggish spell strangd yu to h
12r	Balconie l Our Grand fayrs wer Christined fools/ our fayrs rituall whigs/ w To the Scc sweet lammies Court Cammies fool Tallies lyke a heise/ Damd : Ther answ Jacobitis Wiked Spritts hypocrits by tounge & mouth....
12v	The Latin Our drinkes we deills or Marquess wer madd/ our Earls we evill Under the Cace Called Oner sees Man sera propag o...
13r	A Deposta From villany rist in a doubled of zeal/ Frm 3 Kingdoms bulling
14r	The Index [list of 156 miscellaneous papers] First I saw and thereafter I saw ane old man & old woman in ane Chariot [r [cipher] thes myne figures still make up 15 quadraughlarnrse/ plameorss The Royal God bliss pleasure & home infally bring/ of Scotland prince & s
14v	after the K Mfynd to give god & ceaser both yr due... Upon Mrs Com sueetest Nymph all men desire/ How just my panegyrick be Upon S. L Sauders Laude on a day/ U came out into the best aray/ to court
15v	Mr Dundas tryall...
16r - 18v	The Granc 1662
19r	To the Rig Ritch dedicals his pens Dexterity [table of alphabet; the propositi

- 19v - 21v The next t t They 2 next tabls haw examples of placeing 4 Wowells by writin  
[examples of codings and explanations thereof]
- 22r Delicie Generis No Shir Maky Hus In ardis...  
Credidmus terras Hydram liquisse Brilliant...  
By the same hand upon the surmuse & report of the Ks Returne  
By ye sam ffollows oys by the same hand upon the late whigg partt off Br  
Inscrip[ti] Man of his meat master of his wife possest husband with muckle  
Upon Homer: The writter of the famous Trojane Warr and of Ulysses lyf of
- 22v On Marlet Meus tua non vaga sons virtus non gratia Regis...
- 23r Roger La : [listed descriptions of Aesope's Fables, 1-30 - no mention of Hei  
The trimm by showing self a Manse & ye Second tyme fra Wealth by showi  
The Cardi The Cardinal hes gott a scoupe/ upon his Covenanted Doupe/ ar
- 23v - 25r Some reas why the English oath abhurations should not be imposed upon tel
- 25r Great gutt bellie Gluttons scordling drinkers falls teathers whigg preaches v
- 25v - 31v Ane answer to monsieur de Rodons Sunerall of ye Mass By N N Attoway?
- 31v - 35r [table of p Lewis Burfoo...King of France; Law for...Warsee; Stuart for... C  
ffollows d examplified in the caice of Jo: Bull on the margent of his boY t

[from here the writing is upside down, so recorded as read]

- 50v [right way up] The Souly To the life of many a rewing ston/ Move too & fra & quickly go
- 50r - 47r [upside Off the Curiositys of natures Cabinet extraited from many calme frentler l  
Extraited l Of Love why it coms instantly convoyd by the eye to the Conenq
- 46v Don Pedr Surlie he spent delines the and mackes the mistaine thynightbov
- 46r ffastens ex Inclosed in a paper heart Directed to my heart my hearts & taik h  
Sir George McKen Yies booke of Solitude preferred to publ[is]h Employme:
- 45v Buckingham Ludit in humanis divinia prudentia rebus  
Last arguments toke the greatest Impression for solitud from religion  
ffame I denneius servas curreper alpes...
- 45r pleasur to comand oys false expert of being lyk our maker for qih both ang
- 44v The writtnest wast speech & yt ever wes it rediculed among the censorants
- 44v Alx r runneing killing each qo would wt call him...
- When Her Henry . S. Edward bth ary philip of spayn K.ms husband Eliz [pr  
prophecys oft Beid 2. Merling 3. Berlingtome....
- The proph Regina austis qo came to Soloman qu yt....
- Ha anders his address to John Erskin of Dunfirst...
- Anglordy: The solern shoo doth by the side lyns Impart
- Syne bene Such qih buttam shall obey...
- [accompanying s My heart v is maddly sett on fyre/ Upon the margent/ or hirne doune the lea  
At to lette: at Bad to each of them & ye sett...
- 44r - 42v The Histo: The luckie haw yr days & those they choyce: The unluckie haw :
- 42r When the ane table humblie inscribed to Dr: Sw; In dominis mures abidad
- 41v Transla[ti] abut the tyme qu starrs mack way/ for the appearineing dwan of  
In Imita[ti] As I a poor decrepit Swaine/ we crawling thro the flury plaine...
- The nynth Whence my my little prettie Dove/ there wingd messenger of Lo
- 41r The same Pray the little pidgeon say/ to hence pray doest thou wing thy w  
The same My pretty pigeon stay and tell/ why yor bound & qr yow duell...
- Anacreout Id fame the brawe atchections writte/ of the hio Greaan plumes



40v	ode 5 The rose the floure of love good friend/ letts mix wt joyne of gra
	ode 16 Some the affairs of Shebes doe relate/ syrs ye phrygian warrs reg
	ode 15 by its not my business to know/ The storys of the Giges goe...
	ode 28 by ffritics could mens livs maintaine/ If ye becairfull heaps of gold
	ode 18 by The thirsty earth drinks in the raine/ The trees drink from Earth :
	ode 24 by Since I am mrtall must rune/ The course of liffe till it is doune...
	ode 40 by once in a calm and sultry day/ as on the ground young cupid lay.
	ode 2 by C Banhus Mighty for of love/ Banhus qu doeth quyte remove...
40r - 39v	The rest o But of yow nain he lady drum/ yu love surlie will suck drink...
39r	The marit; being and anoint of the livs Characters Memorall actions of suc
	The begin: The first book goes doune to the overtune of the picts qih is 116l
	[table] ffrance: 1309; Spaine 1300; England 918; poland 719; Denmark
38v	The Lyffe Its no wonder his parentage be reckned uncertaine & historyan r
38r	The life of ffamous historie Arted most in south vuttam qufor Buchanan o
37v	The liffe o Nephew to Caracus his moyr Q. Of Picts...
	Capnt fra : Qu Roms overrun It made liberty to brigants & providences orde:
37r	The Liffe His parentage Certaine & placce of his berth uncertaine nor is it
36v	The Life o The some of Gerams qu wes murdered qos murder Buchanan e
36r	The life of The sone of good ersme & most memorable himself but being n
	the liffe of Fer: I Fer 2 and Ken 2 each of ym raisd the scots Impir by begini
35v	2 Book of Cap coms after picts to ye restoration of K Melcolm of Sihandar
35r	The Life o Son of ech of most eminent preseding & few falts after the defea
	[then joins above 35r which is written in the right direction]

**ff. 101 - 148****heading first lines/date**

101r	The place: 1. Bethlem as Wasworth; 2. Mamre plaine qr abram dyed as Gui
101v-104r	In Gesta R Attalanta Imperious daur most swift to be givne to him or would
104r	a godlie B whos Learneing his thimpier is bad/ His predestinations yt made
	Hindlesto: His fayrs vaiver nor wes Cock so hie: The he is bonnet maker in
	K. Ch. 2s: (after thie defeat of his armie at worcester 1651) printed at Lond
[horizontal]	OB for 14.4.6 dates 23 May 1709 - 14:4 12:0 26: 40 It from y octor 1708/ t
104v	ffour treat John Downame preacher 1613 Esacah 58.1 Cry
105r	Q. Oath bi eat unlaws appearent or bethe event as killing of Elisas panls2/ U
	Reasons agt perury I odour to god & man
	Of drunkn I a judicious preacher should retule the Surs if the tymes & spatt l
	Of ffornic the first 3 parlars & oys as in the former treatche And the cause:
106v - 107r	Gerardo th Part q discourse 2 jacuthas obscure wonder...
107v - 108r	25 octor T Honour & many [b]ritorys doe crowne/ The name of Crispians v
	Heir yow : [15 verses]
[horizontal]	Reader remark qts writtne be the poet/ a women & maids love men though
108v - 113r	Pilgrime a When pale lady Luna wi th her lent light/ throw dawning of ye d
113v	Not of the Count varms mornes ye most beautiful Gloriana qu wes formerli
114r	Argyles D anno 1661
114v	Dilemma : If he had escaped he wold haw bein tempted/ weikns his sufferir
	1710 Qua: [10 verses]
	Appendix in Mc:KenYies institutions They ar heir helped and expland...
115r	Follows sc [follows statements and replies]
115r - 120v	out of the 1.A short Historie of the progresses ryft and decay of the Comor

- 121r [upside down after discourse of the happie revolutione That he should have preayed yt th  
Lyns form The best of prelats in a faitious age/ misust lyfell by the madd se
- 123v - 121r [upside down] Doctor Ed In his sermons pon severall occasions [sermons 1 - 12]
- 121r [upside down] follows 4 instances of Chastitie in Gods revenge agt murther...
- 124v - 124r [upside down] yowr welc your holy spirits tho Hypocrits/ its saik yow drunk not eall boyes  
[horizontal] Verses hei Love in Distres or the Luky discourse 1696
- 125r [right way round] Be kend wae upon be therr puts me Mr Do ensign in her wrts fort guards...  
Io ardis accompt  
Impr ffor peuter and preceed my mert 1708 wes payd except [note of accou  
Memoranc (afterward putt ane oyr Cover upon thte lttre and direct it thus...
- 125r - 127r Joseph M<sup>r</sup> [confessions 1 - 45]  
Philotus  
of 80  
years wes  
extreamli  
e  
enamored  
of Emilia  
of 14  
years  
daughter  
to  
Alberto  
& qu  
nether he  
nor the  
macreel  
or  
pandress  
yt he  
imployd  
nor yet  
her  
fathers  
extreamie  
st threats
- 127r [sum of Phi Excellent] could
- 127v And thow a God dispises not rememred assertions to the constant Church e  
Short reas [1-15]  
And prophecie concerning the prayer booke agt the whiggs...  
In historie of Flavius Josephus sone of Matthias 1700 printed...  
In Captaine David Kennedys relatione fo the 21 years warr turpt KWK Fra
- [upside down] Vive du se Thou never promised to thy selfe long life & mani years lyk a sh
- 128r - 128v [right way round] The rarity In Scandanavia the cloacks qih tell Sts days & Moons & the dee
- 129r - 131v Do nativrt Penticostes/ Gloria Patri domiine/ Sabbato Hymns/ Dominica ad
- 132r heavenly: [religious prose, similar to that titled 'Antiquaries of Rome']

[from here the writing is upside down, so recorded as read]

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- 148v - 143r      Observatic [1-20 descriptions of Captains]  
 143r [horizontal] stolne haugh by act pall marginall nots subt thus WM THOIRS  
 142r              A Compend of Scots law excerpted furth of the Scots Lawiers & parlie furth  
 141v              The forme of process before the Lords...  
 141r - 137r      Next follo [1-9]  
 137r              This ends the forme of proces before the Lords Thursday the nyntieth day o  
 136v              Calfshead [1-5]  
                     In the booi 2d Edition 1685... 1. Christopher Columbus round the world his  
 136r              Papyring t [1-10]  
                     Mr Ja. Greensheilds bill of susp refused be the lords for a ordman...  
 135v              In the politicall descourses of sir Rod Filmer baronet 168 oprinted...  
                     Libertas - popult quem regua coierent libertate pent Lucan lib:3...  
                     Capnt1: how dangerous new & plausible it is the prll of naturale fortune...  
 135r              Cap2: Tha [1-18]  
 134v              Cap3: The possitive laws never infringe the fayrly pouer of kings...  
                     ffolows the frieholders grand inquest concernign K & parted 2 observation:  
 134r              Observations upon aristotles politicks tucheing forms of govers together w  
 133r              Directions for obedience to Government in dangerous or doubtfull tym...  
 132v [continuatik Spence: ol [fainter still] z on grlv scotorum didor claris hucanuit aruus: : vil  
 [then joins at 132r which is written in the right direction]
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**Appendix C:**